



Daily Report

Soviet Union

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Consultative Commission Session With U.S. Opens
LD3011150088 Moscow TASS in English 1428 GMT
30 Nov 88

[Text] Geneva November 30 TASS—The Soviet-American permanent consultative commission began its regular session here today.

The commission was set up in accordance with the memorandum of understanding of December 21, 1972, between the governments of the USSR and the USA to assist in the implementation of the objectives and provisions of agreements concluded between the Soviet Union and the United States on strategic arms limitations and on measures to reduce the threat of a nuclear war.

'Danger' of 'Competitive Strategies' Discussed
PM0112113188 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 30 Nov 88 First Edition p 5

[Lieutenant General V. Pavlov article: "And Now 'Competitive Strategies....'"]

[Text] Addressing the American University in Washington some 10 days or so ago, U.S. Defense Secretary F. Carlucci once again spoke of a new U.S. military-political concept, which has been called "competitive strategies."

This concept was first mentioned by former U.S. Defense Secretary C. Weinberger in a report to Congress in February 1986. A year later, in another report entitled "U.S. National Security Strategy," President R. Reagan revealed the general thrust of the concept: "To make part of the huge Soviet war machine obsolete and to force the Russians to divert resources in directions which might not be preferable for them." It has followed from further elucidations that in accordance with the new concept Washington intends to shift the arms race from the quantitative sphere to the primarily qualitative sphere.

Resorting to examples, F. Carlucci indicated three areas "where advanced technologies promise to translate into significant advantages for the defense effort" of the United States:

—Stealth technology (so far, the F-117 fighter and the B-2 bomber), which makes aircraft and missiles invisible to radar;

—recent discoveries in the sphere of the superconductivity of materials, which potentially can find an application in a wide sphere—"from a new generation of ultra high-speed computer chips to extremely economical engine";

—developments [razrabotki] being made within the framework of the "Strategic Defense Initiative."

Other adherents of the "competitive strategies" also supplement this list with sea-launched cruise missiles and new weapons systems, including those relating to so-called "smart" and robotized military hardware.

Why does Washington need "competitive strategies"? Primarily, so it follows from F. Carlucci's arguments, to ensure the development of the U.S. technological potential "to maximum strategic advantage" over the USSR, that is, in other words, to achieve military-strategic superiority. Of course, that aim is understandable—it does not shine with originality. Although it is both pointless and dangerous to advance it under present conditions.

The desire to try to exhaust the USSR economically and to make it switch funds from socioeconomic development programs to defense needs is also perfectly obvious. Pentagon representative D. Kloske, who heads the group which is elaborating the new concept, has frankly said that the sum total of all the measures envisaged could result in the USSR's being faced with the need for "extremely painful decisions," including ones of an economic order.

But there are other reasons too—they stem from the existence of a powerful military-industrial complex in the United States. Speaking on Soviet television 14 October 1986, M.S. Gorbachev emphasized that the chief reason why the Americans did not want to reach an agreement in Reykjavik was that "the leadership of that great country is too dependent on the military-industrial complex and on monopolistic groups which have turned the race for nuclear and other arms into a business, into a means of making profits, their *raison d'être*, and the purpose of their activity." The hand of this complex is also felt in the new concept. Its interests primarily consist in seeing that high levels of military appropriations are ensured in the U.S. federal budget both today and tomorrow.

Recently, however, these appropriations have begun to be threatened, on the one hand, by the manifest supersaturation of the U.S. Armed Forces with various kinds of weapons and, on the other, by the USSR's peace offensive. It was precisely this dual threat that was countered by the idea of switching the arms race to the qualitative sphere. Its realization has already begun in practice. As long ago as 1981 the United States announced a so-called "comprehensive strategic program," whose chief aim was to impart to all kinds of U.S. strategic offensive arms qualities which will make it possible to use these arms in a "disabling" first strike. Then the SDI program, designed to transfer the arms race into space, was adopted in 1983. And now the military-industrial complex intends to begin improving and creating [sozdaniye] new kinds of "conventional" weapons in order to make them far from conventional—"smart"—and to make their potential closer to that of

mass destruction weapons. Thus, the realization of the "competitive strategies" promises the military-industrial complex a comfortable existence in the future as well.

According to supporters of the arms race, Washington's new concept is, as it were, on the right track in order to counter the USSR's peace initiatives. You can imagine the following train of thought: The USSR, they claim, won't go against the interests of its own security and seek arms reductions, even on the basis of equality, if, under a qualitative arms race (which the United States hopes to win), this quantitative equality would in practice signify a clear U.S. military superiority. That is why people in Washington reckon that the USSR has only two ways out: It will either be forced to join in a qualitative arms race where "extremely painful decisions" would await it, or it will begin to compensate for U.S. qualitative superiority by quantitatively building up its weapons. The latter is preferable, they say, since it would enable Western propaganda to once again try to reduce the USSR to the rank of an "evil empire." The main thing is that the idea of disarmament would in any case be buried for decades (if not altogether) and high levels of military appropriations ensured.

So what emerges?

They are proposing that we embark on the path of a new arms race instead of the stated aim of becoming partners in reducing the military arsenals that have grown out of all proportion, instead of resolving, together with the USSR, questions of eliminating the threat of self-destruction looming over the world, and instead of jointly building a secure world.

The aforementioned Pentagon representative Kloske stated that the first major study of "competitive strategies" as applied to Europe's opposing Warsaw Pact and NATO alliances has now been completed. The second study taking a "global view" must be prepared by late 1988.

It follows from this that the United States intends to involve its NATO bloc allies in "competitive strategies." Should not the Pentagon representative's statement be regarded as pouring cold water over the hopes cherished by the peoples of this continent of ultimately removing the powder keg from beneath their common European home? After all, this concept would, for Europe too, counteract the incipient disarmament process. For instance, what equilibrium would result from the elimination of the quantitative imbalances and asymmetries if the very essence of the new strategy is based on asymmetries in favor of NATO in terms of the weapons'

combat potential? Another question also arises: Doesn't Kloske's statement constitute a provocation just before the completion of the elaboration of a mandate for talks on armed forces and arms in Europe and does it not constitute an intention to predispose to failure those involved in the talks?

Thus, objectively it emerges that "competitive strategies" and the arms limitation process are virtually incompatible.

THE WASHINGTON POST wrote recently that the new U.S. Defense Department leadership must "organize its strategy over the next 18 months otherwise the Congress will foreclose on us [nas priokroyet]." Foreclosure, or approval for the military concepts is, of course, a matter for the United States itself. We would only like to reveal the danger of "competitive strategies" for the cause of arms limitation and reduction and for the processes aimed at removing the threat of self-destruction looming over mankind.

U.S. 'Trident-2' Program on Schedule

LD2911184088 Moscow TASS in English 1715 GMT
29 Nov 88

[Text] Washington November 29 TASS—The programme for the modernisation of sea-launched strategic nuclear missiles is proceeding in the United States according to schedule, reported the General Accounting Office (GAO) of U.S. Congress.

At the request of the House Armed Services Committee, the GAO carried out a survey of the course of preparation for the deployment of the Trident-2 intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM).

The first such submarine-launched first-strike ICBM's are to be phased into service in December next year to replace the outdated Trident-1 missiles. In all, the Reagan administration allocated 51,000 million dollars for the realisation of the programme

The Trident-2 ICBM's are being developed under the long-term strategic nuclear triad modernisation programme which was adopted by the Reagan administration and which also envisages the construction of B-1 bombers and the MX ICBM's.

The U.S. Navy is planning to purchase not less than 843 Trident-2 missiles which can be fitted out with up to ten nuclear warheads, and eleven new submarines capable of carrying such missiles. The first of the guided missile submarines, the Tennessee, is to enter service with the U.S. Navy next month.

Vorontsov To Meet Afghan Opposition 3 Dec
LD0212142888 Moscow TASS in English 1421 GMT
2 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 2 TASS—Soviet first deputy foreign minister and ambassador to Afghanistan Yuliy Vorontsov will leave for Saudi Arabia on December 3 at the invitation of its government to meet Rabani, representative of the Afghan opposition forces based in Peshawar, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy told a briefing here today.

The trip will be made by arrangement with the leadership of Afghanistan. Vorontsov and Rabani will discuss questions connected with the organisation of inter-Afghan dialogue with a view to finding as soon as possible ways for internal Afghan settlement.

Replying to a question, Petrovskiy emphasised that "there is no relationship whatsoever, direct or indirect, between that meeting and the international conference on Afghanistan."

Powell Remarks on NATO Called 'Contradictory'
LD0112174888 Moscow TASS in English 1416 GMT
1 Dec 88

[Text] Washington December 1 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Turkatenko:

An international conference to mark the upcoming 40th anniversary of NATO has ended here.

U.S. national security adviser General Colin Powell addressed the closing meeting and spoke about the state and prospects of Soviet-American relations, and cooperation within the North Atlantic Alliance.

Powell's speech and defence secretary Frank Carlucci's statement at the conference, according to local observers, are an attempt by the outgoing U.S. Administration to take stock of developments in East-West relations and set a future direction for NATO policies in the light of changes in the international arena and the USSR.

Two contradictory themes were characteristic of Powell's speech. On the one hand, he admitted progress in East-West relations in the new conditions, progress that is beneficial for all sides, the need for further arms negotiations and lessening of tensions. On the other, he tried to uphold the myth of "the Soviet military threat", called for a NATO military build-up, without which no talks could bear fruit, he alleged. Expanding on the first theme, Powell seemed to support the Soviet idea of building a "common European home" with the participation of Canada and the U.S.

"Dialogue does not mean only the pursuit of arms control, it means clearing up the tensions that led to rearmament in the first place. It means working to overcome the artificial barriers that separate East and West," Powell said.

Powell stressed that "perestroika, glasnost and the new political thinking have entered the lexicon of East-West relations."

Restructuring is underway not only in the USSR, but also in East-West relations, he said.

On the other hand, Powell called on the NATO alliance to be watchful of the processes going on in the Soviet Union and though the USSR has made a number of positive steps he asked: "Has the phrase 'the Soviet military threat' lost all meaning for the West?" Though "the landscape of East-West competition has been significantly altered...this does not mean the end of differences between East and West."

Powell warned that perestroika could lead to an economically stronger Soviet Union with more influence in the international arena. He then actually rejected his own call for overcoming artificial barriers in Europe. Powell saw only a trap in Soviet initiatives aimed at dismantling these barriers. Soviet initiatives, in the meantime, receive an increasingly favourable response in West European countries.

The general rejected the idea of building a "common European home". Instead, he called on NATO to strengthen its military power. He then stressed that "the potential for change in Europe, both East and West, is apparent to all. As far as the United States is concerned, these changes are welcome."

U.S., NATO Accused of 'Double Standard'
LD0112195388 Moscow TASS in English 1928 GMT
1 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 1 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev.

The participants in a meeting of the NATO Eurogroup that ended on Wednesday gave a lukewarm reception to the U.S. Administration's demand for the increase of the military expenditures. In the final statement published in Brussels, the defence ministers of the West European members of the North Atlantic bloc noted to officials of the U.S., the senior partner, that between 1970 and 1987 the West European allies collectively increased their total defence spending by 34 percent in real terms and expressed the wish to Washington politely that the true extent of the West European "defence effort is properly understood".

It stands to reason that the Eurogroup decisions do not mean that Washington has suffered a failure in its efforts to impose a new burden of military expenditures on the

allies. West European ministers emphasized that they had discussed the U.S. demands in a preliminary way. A meeting of the Military Planning Committee which aside from European defence ministers will be attended by their colleagues from the United States and Canada will apparently be the scene of the main debating over the military budgets of NATO countries.

The strategy of Washington's impact on its European partners in NATO on the question of military expenditures has become clear now. Washington views the growing support of the world public opinion for the Soviet peace initiatives as the main threat to the plans of the build up of military expenditures in West European NATO countries.

In his report at a recent conference in Washington, U.S. defence Secretary Frank Carlucci said that "nurturing public support for NATO policies has become more difficult with the emergence of a more sophisticated Soviet attempt to sway opinion in the West". The Pentagon's chief is clearly concerned that citizens of NATO countries "may be tempted to ease up on military preparedness", "because they perceive a diminished Soviet military threat".

Under conditions of this "threat" Carlucci deems it necessary that NATO should substantiate its proposals to the public, particularly if the Soviets propose tempting, but in the final count dangerous alternatives. In short, the Pentagon suggests that NATO countries, without further ado, should class as "dangerous alternatives" all Soviet proposals, the ones that have already been put forward and those that might be put forward in future.

It is said in Washington now that the road to real disarmament passes through a preliminary build up of the military might and stepping up of the military expenditures. But this rule, by the "double standard" of its authors, applies only to the USA and NATO countries. As regards socialist countries, Washington is of the opinion that their preliminary unilateral disarmament is necessary if disarmament is to be achieved.

Such concepts and recommendations are based, apparently, on the fact that the Pentagon underestimates common sense of countries of the world community.

Military Paper on NATO Modernization Plans
PM241121188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 20 Nov 88 First Edition p 3

[Lieutenant Colonel V. Nikanorov article: "New Round of Arms Race Contemplated Under Slogan of 'Modernization'"]

[Text] NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner recently made a staggering discovery. It turns out that it was...the fruitful activity of the North Atlantic bloc that was the decisive factor in the USSR's entry into the era

of restructuring and glasnost. "Many people have forgotten the fact," he stated without hesitation in an interview with BILD AM SONNTAG, "that without our guaranteed defense and without a successfully operating alliance, there would be no glasnost or restructuring in the Soviet Union." According to this—to be blunt—extremely weird logic, people in the Soviet Union should virtually welcome as support for restructuring, the NATO plans for "arms upgrading" that are now being actively canvassed.

It is a question of the Atlantic circles' plans to "compensate" for the U.S. "Pershing-2" nuclear missiles and surface-launched cruise missiles being destroyed in accordance with the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. Admittedly, people in the West are now intensively shunning the word "compensation," claiming that they are only planning an innocent "modernization" of nuclear systems that do not fall within the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. But as the saying goes, it's six of one and half-a-dozen of the other. Especially as the plan is not to improve existing weapons systems, but effectively to adopt new models.

To corroborate their positions, the supporters of "modernization" refer to the well-known decision on NATO arms upgrading adopted by the North Atlantic bloc in 1983. Back then the world did not yet know the word "restructuring" and 5 years ago it was still impossible to imagine how the situation in the international arena would change as a result of the new political thinking. Lastly, no one then could have imagined that it would be possible to begin really destroying two classes of nuclear weapons. The entry into force of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles radically changed the state of affairs. Anyone who is guided by outmoded decisions and tries today to effectively water down the essence of the treaty that gave mankind a hope of escaping the nuclear threat is imprisoned by the stereotypes of the past.

General J. Galvin, NATO supreme allied commander, Europe, THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE attests, stressed that after the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear systems "it will be difficult for the weapons that NATO has at its disposal to hit potential targets." He advocated all-embracing modernization, including the creation of "air-to-surface" missiles with a range of approximately 400 km launched from areas outside the range of the enemy's air defenses and "surface-to-surface" missiles with a range of approximately 450 km to replace the "Lance" missile. Moreover, there is talk of deploying additional F-15, F-16, and F-111 strike aviation aircraft and also moving U.S. sea-launched cruise missiles into Europe. All this is presented under the slogan of "modernization."

Rupert Scholz, head of the FRG military department, has spoken out in favor of this so-called modernization of U.S. nuclear weapons deployed in Europe. This was

discussed at the latest session of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group held not so long ago in The Hague. Some speakers at the session of the North Atlantic Assembly that has just been held in Hamburg also advocated remaining committed to the "nuclear deterrence strategy" and modernizing both conventional and nuclear NATO arms.

Of course, all this is bound to cause concern in the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact states. For NATO's "modernization" plans are in effect aimed at undermining the growing trust between East and West and will contravene the spirit of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. The Soviet stance on this score was clearly expounded during FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl's recent official visit to our country. In the course of talks with the head of the West German state, M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, focused attention on the task of further reducing nuclear weapons in Europe and stressed the inadmissibility of any modernization and compensation for the eliminated intermediate- and shorter-range missiles via the deployment of new nuclear systems. The Soviet Union proposes working to completely eliminate tactical nuclear weapons on the continent.

The Soviet Union and its allies submitted proposals long ago providing not only for the elimination of nuclear weapons, but also for substantial and equal reductions in NATO and Warsaw Pact conventional arms in Europe on a reciprocal basis and ultimately for the dismantling of the very material potential for aggression.

Thanks to the Soviet Union's open and honest foreign policy and the positive changes under way in our country, the myths about the notorious "Soviet military threat" are less and less effective. According to data from Munich's "Sinus" Institute, for instance, 84 percent of FRG citizens have a positive view of the Soviet leader and almost 60 percent of the population do not see "any military threat from the Soviet Union." This is not to the liking of those who support arms upgrading since it deprives all their arguments in favor of "modernization" of persuasiveness. "I am alarmed by the weakening of the will for defense," Woerner complained during the aforementioned interview. But this is by no means a weakening of will on the part of the West Germans for defense but a strengthening of common sense, which refuses to brook attempts to involve the continent in a new round of the arms race.

K. Voigt, Social Democratic Party (FRG) Bundestag faction expert on foreign policy questions, stated in an interview with FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU that "it is a question of the U.S. intention not only to create a fundamentally new modern missile system in place of 'Lance' with a range almost three times superior to the potential of its modernized predecessor but also to involve its allies in financing this project." Bonn will be forced to pay for missiles opposed by the West German

taxpayers. An unprecedented situation may arise whereby the FRG is directly involved financially in the creation of nuclear missiles for the first time in its history, the expert stressed.

It is reasonable to ask the following question: Will Europe's security, including that of the FRG, be enhanced as a result of the buildup in nuclear arms? The answer is unequivocal—no, it won't. The situation may deteriorate since such plans for "modernization" provoke retaliatory measures and undermine East-West trust. Moreover, the implementation of the plans for "modernizing" NATO nuclear arms threaten to undermine the detente process that is gathering pace and to drastically retard the movement toward consolidating European and universal security. The West German press rightly pointed out that the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles will turn out to be a propaganda show if tactical missiles are simultaneously transformed effectively into new intermediate-range systems.

I think that the ideas of one recent article in THE NEW YORK TIMES deserve attention. Mikhail Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders, the newspaper writes, have frequently called for the convocation of an "all-European" conference to discuss the question of conventional arms reductions in Europe. This is only the latest evidence that Moscow has a serious attitude toward the problem of substantially reducing East-West confrontation in this area of the globe that has the highest concentration of weapons. The United States and NATO are doing virtually nothing in response to this apart from dragging out the solution of this question. If America and its NATO allies can be sufficiently sensible to respond to these proposals seriously, it will be difficult to overestimate their significance. The newspaper writes that the main question now is possibly whether the Western leadership's stance matches up to what looks like the most promising diplomatic opportunity of the postwar period.

We must not allow this opportunity to be sacrificed to a new round of the arms race.

Poland's Malinowski Opens Parliament Conference
LD2611194388 Moscow TASS in English 1802 GMT
26 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw November 26 TASS—"Parliaments and Democracy" and "Cooperation in the Name of Europe's Future" are the main themes of the Parliament Speakers Conference of Europe, the United States and Canada opened at the Polish Sejm in Warsaw today.

During three days of sessions delegates will exchange views on the more important issues in the international life today and will discuss the parliaments' contribution to the development of the processes of detente and cooperation in Europe and in the whole world, to the

making of the European continent a sphere of lasting peace and goodneighbourly relations, to the joint solution of economic and humanitarian problems.

Being the first meeting of its kind, the speakers conference is being held as part of the process initiated by the European conference on security and cooperation and is intended to have a positive influence on continued consolidation and development of that process.

The conference is attended by Yu. Khristoradnov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet and A. Vosa, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet and by heads of parliament from other participating countries as well as the European Parliament and the European Council's Consultative Assembly.

The parliamentary heads forum was opened by Roman Malinowski, marshal of the Polish Sejm, who came forward with the initiative of holding such a conference a year ago. Welcoming the delegates, he stressed that the very fact of holding that meeting was proof of great changes in Europe in recent years and of the will to work for the sake of the common future.

He said that the conference was called upon to give a fresh impetus to the development of cooperation between parliaments, to increase their contribution to the achievement of common European goals and to the building of a common European home.

The speaker stressed the importance of translating into reality Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals on the establishment of a European military threat reduction centre which he made in an address to the Polish Sejm last July.

Malinowski proposed to hold a meeting of young parliamentarians in Warsaw in 1989 and made several proposals on the development of economic, scientific and technological cooperation.

The marshal of the Sejm read out messages of greetings to the conference from U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar and Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Gorbachev Sends Greetings

LD2611135388 Moscow TASS in English 1329 GMT
26 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev has sent a message of greeting to participants in a conference of chairmen of parliaments of European countries, the U.S. and Canada which opened in Warsaw today. The Soviet leader wished them success in the holding of the forum and a fruitful continuation of their cooperation.

"The forum held on such a high level is the manifestation of interrelationship and interdependence of the destinies of countries and nations which are typical of the present-day situation. The growing similarity of interests of the European nations enhanced by their political experience of many centuries brought about the need for working out collective approaches and for jointly looking for solutions", Gorbachev pointed out.

He emphasized that it is on this basis that the Helsinki process emerged. "The Vienna meeting which is coming to a close is to open up in all the spheres of this process—political, military, economic, ecological, and humanitarian—additional opportunities for good neighbourly cooperation of all the countries participating in it and, in our opinion, for the putting into practice of the ideas about a 'common European home', which would permit to enrich the life of peoples, to guarantee to them a future free from military-political confrontation, to bring down the level of armament and to reveal more fully the potential of cooperation", he said.

Soviet Delegate's Speech

LD2711031588 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1337 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 26 Nov (TASS)—"Parliaments and Democracy" and "Cooperation in the Name of Europe's Future" are the main themes of the conference of parliament speakers of Europe, the United States, and Canada, which opened at the Polish Sejm in Warsaw today.

During 3 days of sessions delegates will exchange views on the more important issues in international life today and will discuss the contribution of parliaments to the development of the processes of detente and cooperation in Europe and in the whole world to making the European Continent a sphere of lasting peace and goodneighbourly relations, and to jointly solving economic and humanitarian problems. [passage omitted]

A speech was made at the conference by Yu.N. Khristoradnov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet. He noted that the conference is taking place at a time when development in Europe and in international relations is reaching a new historic stage. The links and interdependence of the destinies of countries and peoples, their common responsibility for ensuring peace and security, averting the threat of war, and preserving civilization are becoming increasingly evident.

The program for setting up an all-embracing system of international security and the phased elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, and establishing on this basis a nuclear-free and nonviolent world, as put forward by M.S. Gorbachev, is being called a manifesto of new political thinking. The Soviet Union's ideas and program for setting up such a system of international

relations alongside the concept of the 'common European home' and other initiatives prepared and put forward jointly with allied socialist countries, are receiving increasingly broad understanding and practical support in the world, the speaker said.

At the same time, elements of alienation, a shortage of trust and mutual understanding, and the piles of weapons that have accumulated and remain are creating barriers and closing the paths for expanding and strengthening cooperation and building the new European home.

Parliamentarians cannot and should not remain uninvolved in the solution of these acute and exciting problems of today. Whatever the social composition of our legislative bodies, their traditions, and specific features, and whatever country they may function in, voters have entrusted each one of them with a mandate of trust and instructions to do everything possible to prevent a nuclear catastrophe, to maintain peace on earth, and to defend the rights and interests of voters. The awareness of these responsibilities and concern for the well-being of people and for the development and deepening of the Helsinki process are helping to spread the new thinking among governments, parliamentarians, and the general public. There is evidently a growing understanding of the common responsibility for the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe, and of the need for dialogue and joint efforts toward strengthening peace. We perceive the conception of the construction of the building and the architecture of the European home not as an end in itself, but as a continuously developing process following in the channel of the Helsinki agreements, achieved trends and realities, and the whole sum of relations in Europe.

At the same time, the development of events in the world and Europe is bringing forth more and more problems. They include questions of security, ecology, and economic, cultural, and humanitarian cooperation. The speaker expressed the hope that parliamentarians will be able to make a real contribution accomplishing the crucial tasks which face the European and world community. It is true that not all of us have identical views, opinions, and viewpoints in the evaluation of phenomena and events in the world and in Europe, and on the paths and pace of progress toward a nuclear-free world. But on one thing we are united, he said: the desire for dialogue, peace, and the development of trust, mutual understanding, and cooperation.

Kovalev Receives U.S., UK, French Envoys
LD0112152288 Moscow TASS in English 1731 GMT
1 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 1 TASS—Anatoliy Kovalev, first deputy foreign minister of the USSR, today received Jack Matlock, ambassador of the United States to the USSR, who was accompanied by representatives of British and French Embassies, at the latter's request.

Matlock handed over the reply of the Governments of the United States, Britain and France to the aide-memoire of the Soviet Government on West Berlin dated September 15, 1988.

Gandhi's Beijing Visit Seen as 'Bold Step'
PM2911170788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[Vsevolod Ovchinnikov "International Notes": "Delhi and Beijing"]

[Text] An Indian delegation has arrived in Beijing to prepare for Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's visit to China in December. In meeting with it PRC State Council Vice Premier Wu Xueqian called the first visit to China by an Indian Government head in the last 34 years an important historical event. Wu Xueqian expressed satisfaction that Sino-Indian relations have improved somewhat in recent years and economic and cultural exchanges and contacts between people have been stepped up. But the border problem, a historical legacy that requires a just and reasonable solution on a mutually acceptable basis, still has to be settled.

K.P.S. Melon, secretary at the Indian Foreign Ministry, said that the governments and peoples of both countries attach enormous significance to the upcoming talks. He was of the view that the positive changes apparent in recent years in Indian-Chinese relations and the resumption of top-level contacts are making a substantial contribution to peace in Asia.

Border disputes—they even assumed the form of a military conflict in 1962—have long cast a shadow over the sincere feelings of friendship that India, since independence, and China, since the victory of the revolution, have had for one another. Talks on the border problem have been going on for a long time. There have already been eight rounds, but they have not borne fruit yet.

Rajiv Gandhi's upcoming trip to Beijing is a bold step, which could be a turning point in Indian-Chinese relations, the Delhi paper *THE STATESMAN* writes. Through the radical improvement of relations with China, India can move more quickly to the forefront of world politics, that is, step out of the confines of the South Asian context and take on a role in international affairs that corresponds to its size, political weight, and economic achievements. Normal relations and good-neighborly cooperation between the USSR, India, and China, the paper concludes, would be an exceptional phenomenon. Nearly one-half of mankind would be acting as a force for peace and development.

Just picture it: India has friendly relations with both the Soviet Union and the PRC, the *FREE PRESS JOURNAL* writes. Three states occupying a vast territory, with a population of 2.2 billion, linked by ties of friendship. It would change the world climate for the better. Evidently, this is exactly what Gorbachev is seeking, and Gandhi

must also make an effort in that direction. Today, the paper concludes, the situation is more right than ever before for India to extend the hand of friendship and cooperation to China.

The Indian press pronouncements cited above are consonant with M.S. Gorbachev's Krasnoyarsk speech. Good relations among such major states as China, India, and the USSR are exceptionally important for the future of Asia and worldwide progress. The peoples remember that the five principles of peaceful coexistence were originally formulated by India and China, with reference, in fact, to their bilateral problems (in the 1954 agreement on the Tibetan autonomous region of China). Therefore, the world community has a right to expect that, since they are the founders of these principles, the two great Asian powers will be guided by them in practice. One would like to wish the Indian-Chinese summit in Beijing success.

Current U.S. Policy in Asia Criticized
PM2311152188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 21 Nov 88 First Edition p 3

[Own observer Aleksandr Golts "Military-Political Review": "Asia—Kill the Cobra of Enmity"]

[Text] The visit to India by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has come to a close. It was a vivid demonstration of the Soviet-Indian friendship which is growing stronger with every passing year. It is a friendship which has stood the test of time, which has remained firm and grown stronger in the far from fertile conditions of the international climate of past years, and which has never been clouded by confrontation.

At this complex time, both the leaders and ordinary people of these two countries—India and the Soviet Union—are very acutely aware of how we need one another. "Representing one-fifth of the world's population, their relationship is the realization of the multifaceted potential of partnership between two powerful forces of contemporary world progress—socialism and a society born of national liberation," M.S. Gorbachev emphasized when speaking in Delhi.

Soviet-Indian summit meetings are held every year. Bilateral relations are not the only focus of their attention. Sensing that they have the will and understanding of more than 1 billion people behind them, the leaders of our states develop concepts important to the future of all mankind. It is deeply symbolic that the historic Delhi Declaration, proclaiming the principles of a non-violent, nuclear-free world, was signed 2 years ago in the Indian capital.

In the time that has passed since then, our two countries have done a great deal to try to ensure that implementation of the principles and ideas proclaimed in this

document—peaceful coexistence as the universal form of international relations, a comprehensive security system, and the elimination of nuclear arsenals—is begun. The signing of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was an important step toward a nuclear-free world. The difficult search for ways to achieve a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons, limit nuclear testing, and totally eliminate chemical weapons is continuing. India has submitted a "Plan of Action," consonant with the Soviet approach, for discussion by the United Nations. The USSR supports the idea of an international convention that would outlaw the very threat of nuclear weapons being used. Thus mankind is no longer paralyzed with fear before the "cobra" that has raised its head—or, in other words, the nuclear threat as it was several years ago, when Indira Gandhi spoke of it with alarm. No, mankind has engaged in a determined battle with this monster. And the role played by the Soviet Union and India is considerable.

They also make a considerable contribution to attempts to vanquish the cobra of enmity which prevents the peoples of Asia from living a normal life and to the strengthening of security in the Asian and Pacific region. I think it is no accident that the move in Soviet policy toward Asia has coincided with the intensification of Soviet-Indian talks. Allow me to remind you that the program to improve the situation in the Asian and Pacific region proposed in 1986 in Vladivostok was broadly discussed several months later at a Soviet-Indian summit meeting in Delhi. This time too, shortly before the current visit to India our country proposed new initiatives taking into account the present situation in the region. This situation has changed considerably.

In the past 2 years a considerable amount has been done to improve the political climate in the Asian and Pacific region. First of all, it is impossible not to see the ongoing development of relations between our two countries and the PRC. This is exceptionally important for the future of Asia and the whole world. The Geneva agreements on Afghanistan have been signed and combat operations between Iran and Iraq have ceased. A meeting took place recently between Hun Sen, chairman of the Cambodian Council of Ministers, and the leaders of the Khmer opposition groups. The results of this meeting inspire a certain degree of optimism.

At the same time, it would not be true to say that the principles enshrined in the Delhi Declaration are being easily implemented in Asia. It is paradoxical that these universal ideas proclaimed on Asian soil are more easily embodied in Europe—to which we are witness. Asia has to travel a far longer, more difficult path. And here the obstacles on this path are far greater. Take the difficult situation surrounding Afghanistan. Undermining the Geneva agreements, the armed opposition has not only not ceased its terrorist actions but is increasingly actively shelling Afghan population centers, the capital included. It is quite obvious that the extremists would never

venture such terrorist acts without help from Pakistan and also direct encouragement from the United States, which, I must remind you, pledged to act as guarantor of the Geneva agreements.

Another example: Following the end of the Iran-Iraq conflict, official U.S. representatives announced that the Pentagon had no intention of abandoning its military presence in the Indian Ocean. And it is no accident that, because of Washington's obstructionist approach, the negotiation process which ought to lead to the Indian Ocean being turned into a peace zone is still quite unable to get moving.

One gets the impression that external forces have an interest in maintaining and fueling regional conflicts on the continent. After all, the existence of these conflicts makes it possible for them to claim the formation of a security system in Asia is futile. The United States is quite suited by the present situation. A powerful strike force of U.S. troops and armed forces of U.S. allies has been created in the Pacific: more than 1 million servicemen, 38 divisions, 10 individual brigades, more than 1,000 fighter aircraft, and 200 warships, including aircraft carriers and battleships. To all appearances, the Pentagon has no intention of losing this potential at present. And it has nothing to do with any need to guarantee the safety of transport communication lines, which is a favorite argument of Washington officials. American military strategists are nurturing plans to shift the center of their militarist activity closer to eastern Soviet borders.

We obviously need to answer the question of why the United States is still pointedly ignoring our peace initiatives. The Pentagon is the only body to react to them—and it does so in its own way, of course. The U.S. military department has recently intensified its sabre rattling in the region. U.S.-Japanese ground forces exercises ended recently in the northeast of Honshu. Some 4,000 U.S. military servicemen took part. Several subunits from the rapid deployment forces were transferred from Alaska and Hawaii. On the Japanese side, servicemen and officers from the 6th Infantry Division were involved in the exercises. Air support was provided by fighter aircraft transferred from South Korea. This was immediately followed by the start of 2 weeks of exercises involving U.S. and Japanese troops in the region of the Shiga prefecture. And so on, ad infinitum.

So that no one should be left in any doubt regarding the Pentagon's view of the immediate future in the Asian and Pacific region, an information leak to the press was arranged in connection with preparations for the "Pacex" maneuvers, unprecedented in scale and involving several divisions, groups of aircraft carriers, and even strategic bombers. The Japanese newspaper SANKEI SHIMBUN noted that these maneuvers "will be strongly redolent of a full-scale military conflict with the Soviet Union." Considering all this, it is hard not to agree with the opinion of the weekly FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC

REVIEW, which wrote, not without irony, that "Washington found it easier to deal with strongly worded statements from Moscow than with its peace proposals." It seems to me that U.S. military activity is calculated not least to provoke us to take countermeasures in the same spirit.

Here I should qualify what I have said—I am talking about the policies of the present administration. And although the recently elected President, George Bush, is of the same flesh, there could be changes among the Americans in the future. These changes could take place for a number of external and domestic reasons. On the one hand, it is already clear that even a buildup of the U.S. grouping in the Asian and Pacific region could hardly alter the global balance of forces. Also, the Reagan administration has not succeeded in turning bilateral military ties with Asian states into a multilateral military bloc, although it set itself this goal about 5 years ago.

Quite the reverse is true: As on the European Continent, U.S. allies in Asia are beginning to realize that the threat posed by the concentration of U.S. nuclear weapons is far more real than the mythical "Soviet military threat." For example, by exerting pressure, Washington has succeeded in forcing the Philippine leadership to extend the agreement on U.S. military bases for another 2 years. At the same time, however, Philippine President C. Aquino has said that the Soviet Union and the United States must "discuss in more detail" M.S. Gorbachev's proposal to eliminate the Soviet and American military presence in Southeast Asia. "Any steps in the direction of disarmament will be most desirable," she said. Let me point out that the Philippines has the right to prohibit the stationing of U.S. nuclear weapons in its territory.

It seems that Tokyo is also beginning to be aware of the danger. It is difficult, for example, to turn a blind eye to the most recent incident, say, when the U.S. Navy destroyer "Towers" fired—albeit with dummy missiles—on a Japanese patrol ship. Even a representative of the national defense administration was unable to contain himself on this occasion, comparing these actions to "firing from a pistol in Tokyo's crowded Ginza district." But the possible consequences of such an incident, if it were to occur during routine maneuvers close to Soviet shores, could be far worse. And Japan is becoming increasingly aware that the limitation of military activity must be the best defense of Pacific sealand—these "crowded commercial streets."

On the other hand, according to reports in the U.S. press, the economic situation is such that even the Pentagon may have to face the prospect of its allocated resources being limited or even cut. This would not fail to affect the military structure in the Pacific region, on which, according to Admiral W. Crowe, the present chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, a large proportion of the military budget is spent. In short, circumstances may force even the Pentagon to take a more sober view of proposals which will allow them to reliably guarantee

American security using fewer resources. After all, as it has been said many times, the Soviet Union does not aspire to superiority in Asia or the world in general.

In an anthology of the thoughts of the great Chinese philosopher Confucius, you can find the following dialogue between the teacher and his pupil: "Is it possible to be guided by one word all your life? That word is interrelationship. Do not do unto others what you would not have done unto yourself." That was said a very long time ago. But today considerable efforts must be made to ensure that this simple truth becomes the basis of interstate relations in the Asian and Pacific region. The ideas produced in Delhi must help in this.

Afghan Envoy's AAPSO Speech Cited
PM2911151588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
25 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent N. Paklin report: "AAPSO Congress Opened"]

[Excerpts] Delhi—The Seventh AAPSO Congress has opened in the snow-white Palace of Science with a speech by Indian Prime Minister R. Gandhi. M.S. Gorbachev sent a message to the congress. [passage omitted]

Representatives from more than 85 countries are participating in the Delhi AAPSO forum, whose work will last 4 days. R.N. Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, is leading the delegation from the Soviet public. The statement made by A.R. Hatef, vice president of Afghanistan, who was in Delhi to participate in the congress, aroused great interest. He stressed that the "Afghan Government advocates the complete fulfillment of the Geneva agreements." "The withdrawal of Soviet forces is connected with the vitally important aspect of noninterference in Afghanistan's internal affairs. But Pakistan is still not fulfilling this provision of the Geneva agreements. It is stubbornly implementing its particular political line. The Afghans themselves must resolve the Afghan problem. Give us the chance to do this." The Afghan spokesman assessed as unfounded the position of those who, on the one hand, insist on the withdrawal of Soviet troops, and on the other, are increasing military aid to the armed opposition and interfering in Afghanistan's internal affairs. He expressed the hope that this question will occupy an important place in the work of the Seventh AAPSO Congress. "We are relying on support from the participants in the Delhi meeting in fulfilling the comprehensive Geneva agreements on Afghanistan," A.R. Hatef stated. [passage omitted]

United States & Canada

Korionov on Prospects for Relations With U.S.
PM2911174788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[PRAVDA political observer Vitaliy Korionov article under the "Journalist's Notes" rubric: "Time For Decisions"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] M.S. Gorbachev's upcoming trip to speak at the UN General Assembly session gives us an opportunity to take another step along the path toward the reasonable solution of burning problems of the day. The tremendous interest in this upcoming event is understandable. International public opinion rightly regards the Soviet leader's speech at the supreme forum of the world community as an expression of the Soviet Union's profound respect for the United Nations. It is the United Nations that is the mechanism in the modern interconnected and interdependent world that can discuss responsibly and at a high level problems worrying the world. And not only discuss but also take practical steps to resolve these problems since this is required by the peoples' vital interests. It is the Soviet Union's invariable endeavor to render the United Nations' role even more effective.

But that is only one aspect. For say what you like, this trip to speak at the United Nations is simultaneously a visit to the country where this organization is located. I assume that there is no need to lapse into debate as to what to call the upcoming conversations between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan and G. Bush but hardly anyone doubts that they will take place. It is not a matter of names. The essence is that these conversations will take place at a crucial period in international relations and their content will indisputably affect the state of affairs in the world.

It is hardly necessary to remind you that Soviet-U.S. relations have known several periods of missed opportunities over the past decades. Life has proved that this was detrimental both to our countries and to universal peace. There is now a real opportunity to open a new chapter. A solid foundation has been laid as a result of the four Soviet-U.S. summits. We also have such an outstanding document of the day as the Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, whose provisions are being implemented.

The Soviet Union will have to implement vast constructive programs. Their scale alone is convincing proof of the USSR's vital interest in lasting and durable peace. Soviet restructuring is a kind of material guarantee of the USSR's peace-loving foreign policy course. The democratization that is unfolding in the USSR is at the same time a democratization of international relations.

The range of Soviet foreign policy during the period of restructuring is impressive. The fraternal internationalist relations between the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are becoming increasingly multifaceted. Relations with a large number of states, both neighboring and also far-off states, have been improved or started up for the first time during the period of restructuring. Suffice it to recall the visits paid to the Soviet Union by the presidents of Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay. Mutual will is creating a new situation in the international arena. The East-West divide is gradually being eliminated. The river of international cooperation is beginning to flow more rapidly.

The line of rendering USSR-U.S. relations stable and predictable is an integral and organic element in this course. I would like to hope that this endeavor will be understood in Washington.

Indeed. Normal goodneighborly relations with our country accord with U.S. national interests. This question has assumed particular acuteness in our time when mankind is assailed with awesome force by the scourge of the arms race fraught with the most dread danger in history. Cautionary voices are also being heard increasingly loudly in the United States.

One of the primary reasons for alarm is the threat looming over the U.S. economy in connection with the growing federal budget deficit. The outgoing administration leaves the incoming one a difficult budgetary legacy. As is well known, the deficit in Fiscal 1988, which ended 30 September, exceeded \$155 billion and specialists have set the deficit for Fiscal 1989 at \$155 billion. Fred Bergsten, director of the World Economics Institute, announced that the United States has been forced to borrow hundreds of billions of dollars abroad in an endeavor to reduce the effect of the budget deficit on the dollar exchange rate. It is obvious to everyone that vast military expenditure is one of the main reasons for this situation. G. Bush will have to abandon certain costly programs for creating new arms systems in order to cope with the constantly growing federal budget deficit—this was the conclusion drawn by staffers from the U.S. Congress General Accounting Office, who recently prepared a report on the problems facing the new president.

It is natural that there is a growing desire within the country to put an end to this bad situation. Especially since life is overturning the "arguments" of the people who are fighting to continue the policy of whipping up terror. A recent Gallup public opinion poll showed that 76 percent of Americans expressed confidence in the Soviet Union's peaceableness and in the fact that the Soviet Union will conduct a policy of friendship and goodneighborliness with other states in the future. Some 83 percent of those polled supported the conclusion of new Soviet-U.S. agreements in the sphere of trade and U.S. business circles' more active participation in them.

In the opinion of 75 percent of the participants in the poll, the new administration must abandon discriminatory laws in trading relations with the Soviet Union.

However, let's not succumb to euphoria. Perhaps, only the first layer has been removed from the stereotype of the "Soviet threat" that has been created over the decades. There are several layers underneath. Eliminating these layers is difficult but realizable.

R. Wirthlin [name as published], White House specialist on public opinion polls, recently made public the following typical data: Only 8 percent of Americans are afraid of military conflict with the USSR or the threat of nuclear war. "This striking result," THE WASHINGTON POST noted, "prompts the thought that the public's frame of mind at the end of the second term of a president who acted from the most anticommunist positions in the entire history of the United States is possibly more favorable to U.S. - Soviet cooperation and arms control than at any other moment since World War II."

Yes, today there are grounds for concluding that the USSR and the United States have reached the point in their relations where these relations could be put on a firmer and more long-term basis. All mankind will stand to gain.

TRUD 'Thanks' Shultz for Visa Refusal
PM3011153788 Moscow TRUD in Russian
30 Nov 88 p 5

["Open Letter of Thanks to U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz"—TRUD headline]

[Text] Esteemed Mr Shultz!

Please accept my congratulations on the occasion of the latest (the fifth this year) valiant victory by the department in your charge over common sense.

Four Soviet trade union delegations had already been refused entry visas to the United States. This time the Department of State refused visas to a fifth delegation, a delegation of Soviet trade union journalists. It was to have included in particular the chief editors of mass social publications enjoying popularity in our country, like the newspaper TRUD, the journal KRESTYANKA, and the newspaper MEDITSINSKAYA GAZETA.

I described the victory in question as "valiant" because one really needs great valor to so consistently and frankly demonstrate unflinching commitment to outdated views and beliefs whose roots go back to the ice of the "cold war" times.

As regards the common sense which has yet again been defeated by your department, I feel that everything is sufficiently obvious. As a matter of fact, the gates to the United States are wide open to the highest ranking political, state, and even military leaders and figures

from the country which, until quite recently, was unfortunately dubbed "the evil empire." Our relations have entered a new stage. But for some unknown reason, Soviet trade union delegations are the ones that cause panic fear in the Department of State. (Incidentally, Mr Shultz, and strictly confidentially: I can guarantee you that all whom you allow to enter your country are also members of Soviet trade unions.) Thus, in my view, the stance taken by the Department of State really lacks all logic, all common sense.

People say that what cannot be cured must be endured. As a matter of fact, I have no intention of apportioning blame. On the contrary, Mr Shultz, I would like to thank you and your department for having so frankly demonstrated your position. It helps us, our readers, and all members of Soviet trade unions (140 million of them) to appreciate more clearly the distance which separates the assurances of many U.S. leaders about their commitment to the principles of the Declaration of Human Rights, the Helsinki Final Act, and the development of all possible human contacts, from the real action of those who stubbornly thwart such contacts.

This also casts edifying light on another aspect of U.S. reality, concerning the position of our U.S. colleagues.

I recall how, replying to questions by TRUD's U.S. correspondent V. Sisnev, you uttered the following sentence back in March this year: "Our trade unions have declared that they would like to welcome people they have chosen themselves."

Why try to be clever? Your department has proved yet again who has the final word in choosing partners for the U.S. trade unions by nullifying the invitation sent to us.

Your March interview also contained another sentence: "We feel profound respect for our trade unions." We have just discovered that the Department of State certainly does not feel "profound respect" for the opinion of all U.S. trade unions but denies them the right to free contact with their colleagues from the Soviet Union.

So much, Mr Shultz, for the picture of U.S. trade unions' freedom which is presented to the Soviet public thanks to the selflessness with which your department decides on their behalf questions concerning those with whom they can or cannot establish contacts.

Yes, this time our meetings with our U.S. colleagues were not meant to be. But we await their visit here so as to continue the interesting and useful exchange of opinions which has already taken place in our country on two occasions this year alone. As for you, Mr Secretary of State, allow me once more to thank you for helping us and our readers, by denying us an opportunity to step onto U.S. soil, to better appreciate certain aspects of contemporary U.S. reality. Not its most attractive aspects, to be sure. But they are there, they exist in parallel with everything new, interesting, and promising

that is emerging in your country and in our bilateral relations. Maybe that was the main reason for refusing our visas—so that we, as journalists, should not forget the multifaceted nature of the United States and should perceive that country with all its diverse realities.

In conclusion, Mr Secretary of State, allow me to express the wish that your aides would brief you on the contents of this open letter of thanks. Provided, of course, that reading the newspaper TRUD is not perceived in your department as something as dangerous as contacts with representatives of Soviet trade unions.

On behalf of the delegation of Soviet trade union journalists that never was,

[Signed] Erik Alekseyev, TRUD International Desk editor

'Arafat Visa Decision Leads to Isolation at UN
LD0112224588 Moscow TASS in English 1616 GMT
1 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 1 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Albert Balebanov:

The sixth committee of the U.N. General Assembly has adopted by overwhelming majority vote a resolution condemning the U.S. Administration's decision to deny an entrance visa to chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Yasir 'Arafat who intended to speak from the United Nations rostrum. It is only representatives of the United States and of its strategic ally in the Middle East, Israel, who voted against that resolution. Great Britain's delegate preferred to abstain. Thus Washington's unlawful actions were censured by U.N. member countries, and the United States landed in isolation on the international scene.

It is not for the first time that the United States lands in such an awkward situation. Washington's patronage of Tel Aviv incurred international censure more than once. This time the United Nations member countries not just condemned the United States' non-observance of obligations with regard to the United Nations assumed under the 1947 agreement. They confirmed the right of the PLO, having the status of observer at the United Nations, freely to appoint members of its delegation to take part in the work of the United Nations bodies.

The White House denied Yasir 'Arafat an opportunity to address the international community to set out the historic decisions of the Algiers session of the Palestine National Council which expressed adherence to the U.N. Security Council's Resolutions 242 and 338 on the Middle East, proclaimed an independent Palestinian state on Israel-occupied Palestinian lands. These decisions met with broad support the world over as realistic decisions opening the road to the achievement of a fair and durable settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

However, it looks like they in Washington are not going to heed the opinion of the United Nations and the international public. This was shown by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. He said over the USIA television network "Worldnet" that the U.S. Administration is not going to alter its decision despite the United Nations call.

Negative steps of the Reagan administration might result in an unprecedented decision, now being considered in the United Nations, to transfer the discussion of the Palestinian question at a session of the General Assembly from New York to Geneva. It is openly said now not only in the United Nations, but also in the United States that the White House's destructive actions deal a blow at the international prestige of the United States as a great power. Thus, former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance emphasized that Washington's denial of a visa to the PLO leader rests on a rather flimsy juridical basis. The Parisian "LE MONDE" notes that the awareness of the fact that the White House has made a serious political error is growing in the United States. The newspaper is of the opinion that the anti-Palestinian step of the White House is explained by the striving of the outgoing Reagan administration to bow to Israel and the Jewish community of the United States. Well, this Middle Eastern legacy of Ronald Reagan and George Shultz, so to say, will hardly facilitate the tasks of U.S. President-elect George Bush.

The unsavoury business with a U.S. visa for Yasir 'Arafat shows that they in Washington's corridors of power have not yet given up the determination to ignore the realities of the world today, the norms of international life.

TASS Notes U.S. Shuttle Launch Delayed
LD0112171488 Moscow TASS in English 1510 GMT
1 Dec 88

[Text] New York December 1 TASS—The launch of the space shuttle, Atlantis, was put off by one day. NASA explains this decision by unfavorable weather conditions in the area of Cape Canaveral, from which American spacecraft are launched.

Atlantis with five astronauts on board is to put into orbit a reconnaissance satellite.

China

Further Reportage on Qian Qichen Visit

Predeparture Statement Cited
OW0112151588 Moscow in Mandarin to
Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Chinese Foreign Affairs Minister Qian Qichen has started his 3-day official visit to the USSR. This is the first time a Chinese foreign affairs minister has visited the USSR since 1957.

Both countries maintain that conditions are ripe for holding a summit meeting between the two countries. In a statement released before his departure for Moscow, Qian Qichen said: My current visit to the USSR and the Soviet foreign minister's forthcoming return visit to China are part of the preparations for such a meeting. Both sides will study a wide range of issues concerning bilateral relations.

In his short statement to the press, the Chinese foreign affairs minister pointed out that the main purpose of his visit to the USSR is to promote mutual understanding and enhance the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations.

Qian Qichen Arrival Statement

LD0112131288 Moscow TASS in English 1304 GMT
1 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 1 TASS—Qian Qichen, foreign minister of the People's Republic of China who arrived in Moscow on Thursday at the start of an official visit at the invitation of his Soviet opposite number Eduard Shevardnadze, made the following statement:

"The foreign ministers of China and the Soviet Union have met more than once in New York to conduct useful dialogue on the issues of normalizing relations between their countries.

"During this visit I would like to continue the frank exchange of opinions on the Kampuchea issue with my Soviet colleagues and make further progress on this score.

"Along with this, I believe that we shall also discuss other issues related to our bilateral relations.

"During my stay in Moscow I expect to meet Mikhail Gorbachev.

"The Chinese side has invariably sought to form and develop friendly relations with all countries on the basis of five principles of peaceful coexistence.

"By tradition, there is friendship between the Chinese and Soviet people. China and the Soviet Union are two great neighbouring countries, they should be good neighbours and live in peace.

"We are glad that Chinese-Soviet relations have been gradually improving over recent years. I earnestly hope that this visit will be crowned with the expected results."

In conclusion Qian expressed profound respect for Muscovites and all Soviet people.

Report on Moscow Arrival

OW0212111188 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0300 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Qian Qichen, foreign minister of the People's Republic of China, arrived in Moscow on 1 December for an official visit at the invitation of Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister. Our special correspondent (Leontyev), who was among those officially greeting this distinguished guest from China, has the following report:

The plane carrying the Chinese foreign minister landed at Sheremetyevo International Airport, which was bedecked with the national flags of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. Among those greeting the distinguished Chinese guest at the airport were Shevardnadze, foreign minister; Rogachev, deputy foreign minister; and other Soviet officials. Also present on the occasion to greet the distinguished Chinese guest were Yu Hongliang, Chinese ambassador to the Soviet Union, and Troyanovskiy, Soviet ambassador to China.

A number of Soviet and foreign reporters were also at the airport, eager to get answers to questions in which they were interested. They posed the following questions to Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze:

What are your comments on this matter?

Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze said at the impromptu news conference:

[Shevardnadze, speaking in Russian, fading into Mandarin translation] This is a very important event. It is abnormal that such an important event has not taken place for a long time. I think that Soviet-Chinese relations have now entered a new (?qualitative) stage. These relations have reached a new level. Talks will begin today. On Friday, Comrade Gorbachev will meet with the Chinese delegation. Generally speaking, our work will keep us very busy, and the schedule will be very tight for the next few days.

The reporters asked Shevardnadze: What do you expect of the meeting with the Chinese foreign minister?

[Shevardnadze] I think the talks will produce good results. This is not my first meeting with Qian Qichen. We met in the past; for example, we met not long ago in New York. It may be said that because we have had contacts with each other, we can better understand each other. All our meetings proceeded in a good, realistic, and constructive atmosphere. I think that the coming dialogue will also be of interest [WO XIANG ZHE CI DUI HUA YE JIANG HU SHI YOU QU DI].

Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze extended welcome to the arrival of Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen in Moscow.

A reporter asked Foreign Minister Qian Qichen: What is your feeling on your arrival in the Soviet Union? While walking, he replied in Russian: Very good.

Meanwhile, a press aide of the Chinese Embassy in the Soviet Union distributed to the reporters a written statement by the Chinese foreign minister to be released upon his arrival in Moscow. The written statement said:

At the invitation of Comrade Eduard Shevardnadze, foreign minister of the Soviet Union, I have come to Moscow. I am very pleased to make this official visit to our neighbor, the Soviet Union. The foreign ministers of China and the Soviet Union have met several times in New York to conduct useful dialogues on the issue of normalizing relations between the two countries.

During this visit, I will continue frank exchange of opinions on the Cambodian issue with my Soviet colleagues so as to make new progress in this matter. At the same time, we will discuss other issues related to our bilateral relations.

During my visit, I expect to meet Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, the leader of the Soviet Union. The Chinese side has invariably sought to form and develop friendly relations with all countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. By tradition, there is friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples. China and the Soviet Union, which are two great neighboring countries, should live in harmony.

We are glad that Sino-Soviet relations have been gradually improving in recent years. I earnestly hope that this visit will be crowned with the expected results. I wish to take this opportunity to express my lofty respects to Muscovites and the great Soviet people.

On the same day in Moscow talks began between Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen.

Talks Held With Shevardnadze

*LD0112201188 Moscow TASS in English 1947 GMT
1 Dec 88*

[Text] Moscow December 1 TASS—Talks started here today between Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, and Qian Qichen, member of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and foreign minister of China, in Moscow on an official visit.

Shevardnadze pointed out that important processes of economic change and political reform were under way both in the Soviet Union and China. In their policy, the USSR and the People's Republic of China opted for extensive international cooperation in the interests of resolving global problems facing mankind.

They attached special significance to the handling of the most acute problem of the survival, salvation of the civilisation. Under these conditions, the campaign for peace and universal human values was becoming a matter of paramount importance. The national tasks of the two countries and the universal human tasks were thus closely interrelated.

The visit by the Chinese foreign minister marked the beginning of a new stage in Soviet-Chinese relations, Shevardnadze said. "One can speak of a new quality in bilateral relations, if their current state is compared to the situation a few years ago. Great progress has been made but, as we understand it, neither Moscow nor Beijing are going to stop at what has been accomplished. They both believe that it is necessary to look into the future."

Qian agreed that qualitative changes had become visible in Soviet-Chinese relations. This was a result of the concerted efforts of China and the Soviet Union, a logical continuation of the two countries' ties over the past years. Indeed, a new stage had begun and it was necessary to move further.

The Chinese minister expressed confidence that his visit to the USSR would give a fresh impetus to Chinese-Soviet relations.

The ministers took note of the fact that the political dialogue between the two countries was marked by a constructive and frank character and a broader circle of issues discussed. Of great importance were the Soviet-Chinese political consultations at the level of deputy foreign ministers.

Both sides expressed readiness to continue that mutually beneficial dialogue.

During their first meeting the ministers paid much attention to discussing a range of issues related to Kampuchean settlement. They held a thorough, substantive exchange of views that enabled each side fully to present its position.

It was noted that the Soviet Union and China are interested in the earliest, fair and rational solution of that regional conflict. The productivity of the attitude when discussion proceeds from the viewpoint of the search for broadening the sphere of accord, the search for solutions that would be acceptable for all sides concerned was stressed.

The sides reaffirmed their intention to facilitate the solution of the external aspects of Kampuchean settlement on the understanding that internal aspects will be resolved as a results of contacts with the participation of all the Khmer sides.

The ministers agreed that issues of Kampuchean settlement will be discussed simultaneously in a special working group. The talks will be continued.

Visit Marks New Stage in Relations
*OW0212100788 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0100 GMT 2 Dec 88*

[Text] Negotiations between Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and Qian Qichen, member of the CPC Central Committee and PRC foreign minister, who had just arrived in Moscow for an official visit, began here on 1 December. The two ministers began their negotiations alone. They were later joined by other members from both sides.

Shevardnadze emphatically pointed out: Important processes of economic and political reform are being undertaken in both the Soviet Union and China. Both the Soviet Union and China have finally adopted policies to transform their socialist societies. To solve numerous global problems facing mankind, the two countries have opted for a policy of extensive international cooperation. The two countries attach special importance to the solution of the most acute problem of survival and salvation of civilization as a whole. Under these conditions, the struggle for safeguarding peace and universal human values is becoming a matter of paramount importance. The national tasks of the two countries and the tasks of mankind as a whole are thus closely interrelated.

Shevardnadze continued: The visit by the Chinese foreign minister marks the beginning of a new stage in Soviet-Chinese relations. One can speak of a rise in the level of bilateral relations if their current state is compared to the situation of a few years ago. Great progress has been made, but, as we understand it, neither Moscow nor Beijing will stop at what has been accomplished. They both believe that it is necessary to look to the future.

Qian Qichen agreed that the qualitative changes that have taken place in Soviet-Chinese relations are a result of the concerted efforts of China and the Soviet Union and a logical development of the two countries' ties over the past few years. Indeed, a new stage has begun and it is necessary to move further.

The Chinese foreign minister expressed confidence that his visit to the USSR would give a fresh impetus to Chinese-Soviet relations.

The ministers of the two countries took note of the fact that the current political dialogue between the two countries is marked by a constructive and frank character and a broader range of issues to be discussed. Of great importance have been the Soviet-Chinese political consultations at the level of deputy foreign minister. Both sides have expressed readiness to continue such mutually beneficial dialogue.

During their first meeting the foreign ministers of the two countries devoted much of their talks to discussing ways to settle the Cambodian question. They held a thorough, substantive exchange of views that enabled each side to fully present their position.

Both sides pointed out: The Soviet Union and China are interested in the earliest, fair, and rational solution of that regional conflict. We both stress the productivity of the attitude to search for broadening the sphere of accord and to search for solutions that will be acceptable to all sides concerned.

Both sides reaffirmed their intention to facilitate the solution of the external aspects of the Cambodian issue on the understanding that internal aspects will be resolved as a result of contacts among all the Khmer sides.

The foreign ministers of the two countries agreed that matters concerning the solution of the Cambodian question will be discussed at a special working group.

In the evening, Qian Qichen watched a Tchaikovsky ballet at the Soviet theater in Moscow. He was accompanied by Shevardnadze and other Soviet officials.

Received by Gorbachev
*LD0212083188 Moscow TASS in English 0824 GMT
2 Dec 88*

[Text] Moscow December 2 (TASS)—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, today met Qian Qichen, foreign minister of the People's Republic of China, who arrived on Thursday [1 December] in the Soviet Union on an official visit.

The meeting between the Soviet leader and the head of the Chinese Foreign Office is taking place in the Kremlin.

Visit Presages Improving Ties
*OW0112201288 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress
to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 1 Nov 88*

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Chinese Foreign Affairs Minister Qian Qichen began his official visit to the Soviet Union today. Commenting on the first visit paid by a Chinese foreign affairs minister to the Soviet Union in 30 years, many observers of international issues (unanimously) call it a major international event, saying that it convincingly proves that the two big socialist countries, whose relations are built on the principles of equality and mutual respect, are trying hard and [words indistinct] to upgrade their bilateral contacts to a new and higher political level [words indistinct].

We might as well recall here that Gorbachev said in New Delhi on 19 November that it seemed a Soviet-Chinese summit is not far away. Chinese leaders have also pointed out on more than one occasion that if the meeting of the two countries' foreign ministers is successful, Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping may meet in Beijing during the first half of 1989. We can anticipate that a Soviet-Chinese summit will be one main topics of discussion during the talks in Moscow.

There is no need to say that if the summit becomes a reality, it will be the most significant political event in 1989. At the same time, [words indistinct] the summit will not only have a most direct impact on the current and future development of Soviet-Chinese relations, but also improve the political climate in the Asia-Pacific region and the world as a whole.

On the eve of Chinese Foreign Affairs Minister Qian Qichen's Moscow visit, Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Soviet minister of foreign affairs, declared in an interview with IZVESTIYA: Personally, I think the purpose of the meeting is to promote all-out Soviet-Chinese [words indistinct] and political dialogues with the objective of promoting friendship, cooperation, and mutual understanding. These few words express the position and aspirations of the Soviet people.

A special feature of the political background of the Soviet-Chinese talks is that in a situation where the international climate keeps improving and [words indistinct] have increasingly stronger [word indistinct] the majority of countries in the world, including countries in the Asia-Pacific region, have been trying hard to more actively participate in international affairs. Our country's proposals—which have been expounded in Gorbachev's universally-known speeches in Vladivostok, in the interview with the chief editor of the Indonesian newspaper INDEPENDENCE, and in Krasnoyarsk, and which involved a broad range of subjects—have received widespread support in the Asia-Pacific region. The Soviet people are convinced that the forthcoming Soviet-Chinese talks are apparently in line with the aspirations of the people in this region and all other countries in the world, namely the aspirations for every effort to consolidate peace, security, and stability and continued further strengthening of this positive trend.

Chinese newspapers have reported that 495 enterprises in 18 provinces in China are selling their products to the Soviet Union and that trade and economic, technical, scientific, and cultural cooperation between the two countries are developing smoothly. This proves that the two countries have increasingly more common ground. The Soviet people are keenly interested in the restructuring of China's economic and administrative systems and the Chinese public are closely watching the progress of our country's restructuring. Learning from China's experiences in reform is extremely important to us. Of

course, we are not going to directly copy these experiences, because the specific conditions in the Soviet Union and China and their ways and means for reform are all different.

While it is still too early to (?predict the situation at this) meeting and the talks, we are certain of one thing: The estrangement between Moscow and Beijing is a thing of the past, and there are more and more ingredients of sincerity, goodwill, and trust in the relations of the two neighbors and the two peoples. Both the Soviet Union and China are for completely normalizing bilateral relations and upgrading their relations to a level compatible with the global political responsibilities two which the two countries have committed themselves.

Kulikov Assesses Relations

LD0112065688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1900 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Correspondent Vladimir Kulikov report from Beijing]

[Text] The visit by Qian Qichen, PRC minister of foreign affairs, to our country begins on 1 December. The normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations and prospects for their further development have become an important subject in the Chinese media. Our correspondent Vladimir Kulikov reports from Beijing.

[Begin recording] [Kulikov] This subject is being invariably mentioned in speeches by Chinese leaders—Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, or Li Peng—and in conversations between ordinary citizens. A benevolent interest in our country and objective information about the processes taking place in the Soviet Union have become part of everyday life in China. Today, on the eve of the visit by Qian Qichen, PRC minister of foreign affairs, to the Soviet Union, interest in our country is especially great. It is no mere coincidence that the majority of questions that Chinese and foreign correspondents asked at the latest briefing at the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs related to this visit.

Journalists were interested in the forthcoming meeting's agenda and prospects. Answering our questions, a representative of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs spoke about the Cambodia problem and bilateral relations between our countries. The peoples of our countries are solving similar tasks and facing similar problems. The difficulties that have to be overcome both by our restructuring and by Chinese reform sometime show a striking resemblance. Experience-sharing and mutually beneficial cooperation may play an important role in the life of two peoples building socialism. Not only a community of specific goals, but also expanding comprehensive links are incorporated in the foundation on which our relations are being built today. I was told at the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, which I visited recently, about the successful implementation of the inter-governmental agreement between the PRC and the USSR in the area of economics and trade.

Trade between our countries have nearly doubled in the last few years. Direct links, joint enterprises, or border trade—all these are new phenomena in the development of our cooperation. The Days of Soviet Science and Technology in China, which ended recently, became a vivid example of such cooperation. Li Peng, premier of the state council, who attended the event, said in an interview with a correspondent of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting that such cooperation and scientific exchange between our countries would serve the cause of further developing friendly relations between the peoples of China and the Soviet Union. [end recording]

Solton on Improved Relations

LD0112172488 Moscow World Service in English
1010 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] [Announcer] Soviet-Chinese talks at foreign minister level are beginning in Moscow. This is an event of international importance. Yuriy Solton writes the following in comment:

Relations between the Soviet Union and China are entering a new phase. The points of contact between the two countries increase as a result of the powerful rejuvenation processes underway in the two great socialist countries. Goodwill, mutual trust, and a reciprocal striving to bring political contacts to a higher level are growing. It is believed that during the talks with the Chinese foreign minister, who will meet the head of the soviet state, Mikhail Gorbachev, the two sides will focus on preparations for a summit meeting. If the circumstances are favorable, such a meeting might be held in the first half of next year.

This development of events is an important component of a general process of improving the international climate and strengthening security. Already now the two countries have similar views on many crucial issues of world politics. The further strengthening of cooperation and mutual understanding will undoubtedly make the joint contribution to generating positive processes even weightier. However, there are speculations that an improvement in Sino-Soviet relations might be politically detrimental to other countries. Such speculations are groundless. The Soviet Foreign Minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, has said that the normalization of relations between the USSR and China will not affect their ties with other countries.

So far there is no point in engaging in detailed prognostications and speculations, but one thing is certain—that is the period of alienation between the Soviet Union and China is over. Neither Moscow nor Beijing look back to the old criteria such as those of the 1950's. Times and realities have changed. Soviet officials are confident that relations between the two countries must be built on the basis of equity, noninterference in each other's internal

affairs, and respect for each other's interests. There are many signs that the Chinese leaders share this outlook. All this makes it possible to conclude that Sino-Soviet relations will inevitably rise to a level conforming to the two nations' responsibility for the state of affairs on the world scene.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Tsvetov Views Cambodian Settlement Process
PM0112161388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
30 Nov 88 Second Edition p 7

[Petr Tsvetov "Viewpoint" article: "Let the 'Ship of Talks' Sail On"]

[Text] The process of settling the Cambodia problem is moving forward slowly and with considerable difficulty, but it is moving forward. The recent visit by Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas to Hanoi, where he was received at the highest level, had talks with his Vietnamese colleague Nguyen Co Thach, and met with Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, is proof of that. The visit was a logical continuation of the important steps taken in recent months on the road to resolving the Cambodia problem.

Today it can be stated that within Cambodia itself and abroad a serious search is in hand for ways leading to a political settlement. The Jakarta process is being developed—the informal meeting between representatives of the PRK, three Cambodian opposition parties, Vietnam, Laos, and the ASEAN countries has been followed by a session of its participants' working group. It has been decided to hold another session followed by another informal meeting early next year. The tasks of preparing for the meeting were discussed during the current talks in Hanoi.

In connection with the working group session in Jakarta the SRV, the PRK, and Laos put forward a joint draft agreement aimed at settling the international aspect of the Cambodia problem. The document stipulates guarantees for the Cambodian people's national rights, links the withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers from the PRK with the ending of military aid to the Cambodian opposition, and contains a proposal regarding the creation of a zone of peace in Southeast Asia and the convening of an international conference on ensuring peace in Cambodia.

With regard to the international aspects of the Cambodia problem, one cannot fail to note the fact that in recent months these aspects have been discussed at Soviet-Chinese and Soviet-U.S. consultations at deputy minister level.

In early November a meeting was held in a Paris suburb between Hun Sen, Norodom Sihanouk, former head of the Kingdom of Cambodia, and Son Sann, leader of a Western-oriented grouping of Cambodian emigres. It

reached agreement on a number of issues—the sides agreed to set up a working commission designed to study all the possibilities for a peaceful settlement of the Cambodia problem, unanimously supported the idea of holding an international conference, and decided to hold another meeting of the three leaders next year.

However, the importance of the meeting does not merely boil down to these accords. The main thing is that contacts between the leaders of the opposing sides are becoming one of the most important channels for seeking a way out of the complex situation prevailing in Cambodia. This is typified by the fact that—unlike last December and this January, when only Hun Sen and Sihanouk met in the Paris suburbs—this time Son Sann took part in the talks too. It seems that this realization of the importance of the event allowed the head of the PRK Government to state after the meeting: "The ship of talks is under way."

Unfortunately, obstacles remain in the way of a Cambodia settlement; this was demonstrated by the tripartite meeting. The main obstacle is the position of Pol Pot's supporters, who are to all intents and purposes torpedoing the national reconciliation process. Representatives of this grouping took no part in the working group session in Indonesia or in the meeting in France, even though they had received the appropriate invitations. The Pol Pot supporters thereby set themselves not only against the Phnom Penh government, but against the other factions making up the so-called Coalition Government of Democratic Cambodia and all forces with an interest in eliminating this seat of tension in Indochina. However, the participants in the talks did not rule out contacts with this section of the Cambodian nation. The communique adopted at the end of the meeting envisaged its participation in the working commission and summit meetings.

It is obvious that the complete resolution of the Cambodia problem will be neither an easy nor a speedy matter. But everyone who really wants peace for that country's people cannot fail to be gratified by each new meeting and new point of agreement. So we wish the "ship of talks" bon voyage.

PRAVDA Cites VNA on Soviet Use of Cam Ranh
PM0112145388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Dec 88 Second Edition p 8

[TASS report: "VNA Statement"]

[Text] Hanoi, 30 Nov—VNA has issued a statement rebutting the attempts by a number of foreign mass media to misinterpret SRV policy with regard to the fleet material and technical supply center at Cam Ranh Bay. VNA, the statement reads, is empowered to confirm that it belongs to Vietnam. It is Vietnam's exclusive prerogative to allow the navies of friendly countries to use this bay. Proceeding from the relations of friendship between

the SRV and the USSR, Vietnam has agreed to afford to Soviet military ships the opportunity to use the port of Cam Ranh as a material and technical supply center, the agency points out.

Near East & South Asia

'Arafat Sends Message to Gorbachev on PNC
LD0112152388 Moscow TASS in English 1508 GMT
1 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 1 TASS—Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), has sent a message to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in connection with the results of the recent 19th extraordinary session of the Palestine National Council, it was announced here today.

On behalf of all Palestinians, the PLO Executive Committee and on his own behalf, 'Arafat expressed profound gratitude to the Soviet Communist Party, the Government and peoples of the USSR for their support of the Palestinians' struggle for their inalienable national rights and the recognition of an independent Palestinian state.

The Soviet position respects the freedom of choice and bears out the relations of friendship and solidarity between the Soviet and Palestinian peoples, the message says.

This position is conducive to the reaching of a comprehensive and just peace in the Middle East through an international conference.

PLO's Al-Natshah Cited on 'Arafat Visa Refusal
LD3011225988 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1754 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, 30 Nov (TASS)—The United States' decision to refuse an entry visa to Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, is not only directed against the Palestinian people but also against the United Nations and the entire international community, said Rafiq al-Natshah, member of the Fatah Central Committee, today. He is heading the delegation of the Palestine Friendship Society which is staying here.

This step by the U.S. State Department, Rafiq al-Natshah said in a conversation with a TASS correspondent, runs counter to the UN Charter and the agreement between the United Nations and the U.S. Government regarding the location of the United Nations' central institutions. The refusal to issue Yasir 'Arafat with a visa has again shown the entire world that the United States remains Israel's true ally.

The Palestinian people's uprising on the lands invaded by Israel—the West Bank of the River Jordan and in the Gaza Strip—in which all sections of Palestinian society and all public organizations are taking part, Rafiq al-Natahah said further, will continue as long as the Palestinian people fail to achieve total victory. The Palestinians who have risen up are pursuing the aim of forcing the Israeli invaders to leave the occupied territories. Moreover, they believe that it is necessary to use all potential, including international public opinion, to speed up the convening of an international conference on the Near East with the participation of all parties concerned, including the permanent members of the UN Security Council.

After the proclamation of the Palestinian state the question of the creation of a Palestinian government has been put on the agenda, Rafiq al-Natahah noted. In his view it will be formed prior to the convening of an international conference on the Near East.

PRAVDA Marks Palestine Solidarity Day
PM2911155388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[Andrey Stepanov "Viewpoint": "PLO Political Break-through"]

[Text] In celebrating the international day of solidarity with the people of Palestine 29 November together with everyone who values freedom, justice, and national self-determination, we note with satisfaction that the Palestinians' struggle for their inalienable rights has entered a qualitatively new phase. An independent Palestinian state has been proclaimed.

This event, which could channel the course of history in the Near East in quite a different direction, should have happened 41 years ago. It was then that the UN General Assembly adopted Resolution 181, according to which the former British mandate territory of Palestine was divided into two sovereign independent states—one Arab and one Jewish. Six months later Israel came into being, but the proclamation of an Arab Palestinian state did not take place. This was because of the intrigues of imperialist forces—Britain and the United States, above all—the aggressive expansionist policy of Israel's ruling circles, the adventurism of the reactionary Arab regimes at that time, and the insufficient political maturity of the Palestinian people themselves and their leaders.

A lot of water has flowed by since then, and rivers of blood have been shed. But the acuteness of the Near East problem, which hinges on the fact that the Palestinian people are still deprived of their legitimate national rights, has in no way eased. On the contrary, it is one of the smoldering hotbeds of tension that periodically threaten to burst into a regional or even a world conflagration.

The substance of the Near East conflict itself has changed. The Israeli policy of aggression and expansion, which invariably enjoys U.S. support, is now being countered by the uprisen Palestinian people, who have on their side the whole world's democratic peace-loving forces. The nationwide uprising has now been blazing on the occupied Arab territories for a year. And the occupiers, despite the cruelest methods of suppression (340 Palestinians have been killed, chiefly children, teenagers, and women; thousands upon thousands have been thrown into jail), are unable to deal with it. This is probably already obvious to everyone but the rulers of Israel. The Palestine resistance movement and its acknowledged leader—the PLO—have traveled a long and hard path, overcoming many obstacles: extremism and a split in their own ranks, unceremonious interference in Palestinian affairs and speculation on the Palestinian people's just struggle for mercenary purposes by individual Arab leaders, and state terrorism by Israel and its transatlantic patrons. Today the movement displays political and organizational maturity, realism, and responsibility for its people's destiny and the cause of peace. Its prestige in the international arena is high.

Underpinned by the Palestinian people's determination to achieve independence, the PLO mounted a broad political offensive. Its culmination was the restoration of historical justice and the proclamation of a democratic Palestinian state by the Palestine National Council session in mid-November. At the same time the PLO recognized UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, which call on Israel to withdraw its troops from the Arab lands occupied by it and guarantee a peaceful, secure existence for all the states of the region, including Israel. The stipulations laid down by the Western powers with regard to convening an international conference on the Near East have, in fact, been met. They demanded that the PLO recognize the aforementioned resolutions—it has done so. They demanded recognition of Israel, but Resolution 242 also includes this point.

In addition, the PLO has resolutely condemned terrorism in all its forms and advocated the convening of a Near East conference with the participation of all the interested sides. It has also proposed transferring the West Bank of the Jordan, East Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip to UN control for the transitional period until the formation of a sovereign state.

The PLO has taken its step toward a compromise. Thus, a path is being opened up to the convening of an international conference, as a result of which the Palestinians will acquire their own motherland, while the peoples of the region will acquire reliable security. The decisions of the Algiers session have received broad international support. Approximately 60 states, including the Soviet Union (the first of the permanent members of the Security Council to do so), have already recognized the future Palestinian state.

What is the reaction of Israel's rulers to the PLO initiative? Still the same as before—to continue the occupation, step up repression, indulge in raging chauvinism, and reject recognition of the PLO and the convening of a peace conference. Israel's ruling circles have taken a totally defensive position and withdrawn into a political "ghetto," throwing down a challenge to international law, to the realities of the present day, and to common sense. Washington is also essentially slipping into the same positions. An example of this is the refusal to grant an entry visa to PLO Executive Committee Chairman Y. 'Arafat, who wanted to address the UN General Assembly session when it discusses the Palestinian problem. This step by the U.S. Administration is also contrary to the U.S. agreement with the United Nations.

The decisions of the Palestine National Council provide a historic opportunity for a just settlement of the chronic Near East problem. The world public has a right to expect a responsible approach from Washington and Tel Aviv.

Military Paper on Palestinian State Decision
PM2911163788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 29 Nov 88 First Edition p 3

[A. Kiselev article: "The Near East—Important Decision"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] On 15 November this year, at a session in Algiers of the Palestine National Council (PNC)—the Palestinian parliament in exile, formed in 1964—Y. 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, announced the formation of an independent, sovereign Arab state of Palestine with its capital in Jerusalem—"a state for all Palestinians, wherever they are" which will be "a democratic parliamentary state founded on freedom of opinion, a multiparty system, freedom of belief, and equality between men and women...."

The declaration of independence says that Palestine regards itself as an Arab state committed to the aims and principles of the United Nations and the Nonaligned Movement and that it considers it possible to resolve regional and international disputes by peaceful means in conformity with the UN Charter and adopted resolutions. Palestine is therefore proclaiming itself to be a peace-loving state opposed to the use of force in interstate relations and in favor of the inadmissibility of acquiring territory by force, and also in favor of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other states. At the same time, the PNC session decisively condemned terrorism in all its forms, including state terrorism.

PLO opponents immediately seized on the fact that the declaration does not define the territorial borders of the state (the text reads: "In our Palestinian territory") and does not formally recognize the State of Israel. However, the political document adopted at the PNC session

indicates the need to convene "an effective UN-sponsored international conference with the participation of all sides involved in the conflict, including the PLO, on the basis of UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, and also the need to guarantee the legal rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination." Both the above resolutions, first, concern only those territories that were occupied by Israel in June 1967—the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and also East Jerusalem (the Arab sector)—and, second, contain recognition of all the Near Eastern states' right to existence, which consequently includes Israel.

There is no doubt that the constructive decisions of the recent PNC session show that the Palestinian leadership has grasped the principles of the new political thinking and is acting in accordance with them. A situation that is not simply qualitatively new but fundamentally new has taken shape in the Near East as a result of the decisions made by the PNC session. They have created—primarily for Israel and its allies—new political realities which they will have to heed. The actual concept of "Palestine" has been given new and—possibly more important—concrete substance. From now on, the PLO—at least until the formation of a government in exile—will represent not only the Arab people of Palestine but also their national state. This means that from November this year Israel and the United States—which are blocking PLO participation in the process of a Near East settlement—are no longer refusing to do business with a "terrorist" (their terminology) organization but with a state. So how have Israel and the United States reacted to these events?

Tel Aviv has unequivocally rejected all the PNC decisions. According to America's ABC-TV, Israel's position is as follows: The PNC can say and do whatever it sees fit, but this will not have any significant impact on current Israeli policy. What is more, a negative stand has not only been taken by the Israeli right wing, led by the Likud bloc, which is in favor of annexing the occupied Palestinian territories, but also by the Israel Labor Party (ILP), which is formally in favor of convening a peace conference on the Near East. The Likud leader, Y. Shamir, has threatened to launch a "political war" and the ILP leader, S. Peres, a "diplomatic offensive." They are already translating their words into action. When Egypt, the only Arab country that has diplomatic relations with Israel, recognized the proclaimed state, the Israeli Cabinet began discussing possible sanctions against Cairo.

The United States has taken a more cautious stand. Commenting on the decisions made by the Algiers session of the PNC, State Department spokesman C. Redman said: "In comparison to the stand the PLO would have to take for the United States to be able to begin a dialogue with it, the results of the autumn PNC session have clearly failed to reach the level of these demands." It is a very telling fact, however, that the U.S. State Department has refused to issue a U.S. entry visa

to the chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, Y. 'Arafat. He was intending to address the UN General Assembly session which will begin discussion of the Palestinian issue at the beginning of December.

The West European countries have not followed the lead of their transatlantic partner. A session of the EEC Council of Ministers at foreign minister level has adopted a conclusion indicating that the countries of the European Community attach important significance to the PNC decisions, which reflect the Palestinian people's desire for self-determination and represent a positive step toward a peaceful settlement of the Near East conflict. The document particularly stresses the PNC's recognition of UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. The Palestinian people's right to self-determination, the EEC statement stresses, is regarded by the community countries as an essential condition for establishing a just, lasting, comprehensive peace in the Near East, which can only be achieved by convening an international conference under UN auspices. A similar stand has been taken by the Japanese Government. So far, the newly proclaimed Palestinian state has been recognized by almost 55 states.

Our country, which is loyal to the fundamental principle of freedom of choice, has recognized the proclamation of the Palestinian state. The USSR Foreign Ministry Statement on this issue says: "The general object is not to miss this opportunity to begin practical work with the aim of establishing lasting peace in the Near East, as a result of which the people of Palestine will gain their own homeland, the people of Israel will acquire reliable security, and the entire region and the international community will extinguish one of the most dangerous hotbeds of tension."

Outlook for Soviet-Iranian Cooperation Viewed
NC301112488 Moscow in Persian to Iran
1100 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The cease-fire between Iran and Iraq and the war's ending make the prospects for placing Iran's economy on the course toward peaceful growth look favorable. The reconstruction of industrial units destroyed during the war calls for great efforts and expenditures. Therefore, it is very natural that Iran, relying on its own strength, is trying to involve in this process foreign countries with which it cooperates economically.

The Soviet Union, which has long cooperated with Iran, is among these countries. We wish to recall that important industrial units, such as the steel mill, mines, and coal industries, have been set up in Iran with Soviet cooperation. Soviet organizations have extended considerable assistance to Iran in expanding power and heavy machinery industries, in industrial housing, in railroad construction, in constructing grain elevators, in expanding fisheries, in training a national cadre, and in other

fields. With the help of Soviet organizations, 116 industrial and economic units have been set up. Despite the difficulties stemming from the war, Soviet organizations always respected their commitments based on agreements with Iran.

Nevertheless, the war affected the two countries' economic relations. When the war intensified in early 1985, Soviet experts were temporarily recalled from dangerous areas. However, some time later—at the request of the Iranian side and, of course, in view of Iran's situation—the Soviet experts resumed their work in the Esfahan steel mill, in the Esfahan thermal power plant, and in other industrial units.

Recently economic relations between the two countries have been flourishing to an extent. There is no doubt that the 10th session of the Committee for Economic Cooperation that met in January 1987 aided this. The visits by Iranian experts to the Soviet Union and by Soviet experts to Iran have increased. The participation of Soviet foreign trade companies in the Tehran International Trade Fair is of great significance as far as expanding Soviet-Iranian economic relations is concerned. These organizations' participation in the Tehran International Fair grants Iran's state and private organizations and companies the opportunity to become acquainted with Soviet products and those of Soviet production associations. The exhibition of export goods of the Islamic Republic of Iran which was held this fall in Moscow was also beneficial both for Iran and the Soviet Union.

The two countries are now preparing for the 11th session of the alternate Committee for Economic Cooperation which is to meet in early December. A conference of experts was held in Moscow as part of the preparations for this session. During the conference, the outlook for Soviet-Iranian economic and commercial cooperation in the fields of railroads, automobiles, constructing installations for maritime shipping, resuming Iranian natural gas exports to the Soviet Union, and other issues concerning cooperation were discussed.

The Soviet Union regards the outlook for expanding economic and commercial relations with Iran optimistically. The way toward expanding these relations passes through the expansion of contacts and the exchange of experts and company and foreign trade organization representatives, and the regular activities of the Committee for Economic Cooperation.

Malikov on Pakistani Violations in Afghanistan
LD0112151388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0730 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Station observer Aleksandr Malikov commentary]

[Text] The latest note from the Afghan Foreign Ministry, the 132d, has been passed to the UN observers' mission in Kabul. The document contains evidence on the

Pakistan's continuing supply of weapons to the irreconcilable opposition and on the shelling of cities and villages in the country. The Afghan side has appealed to the UN representatives to conduct an investigation into these violations of the Geneva accords. Aleksandr Malikov is at the microphone with station commentary:

[Malikov] Sometimes you wonder what the United States and Pakistan were honestly counting on when affixing their signatures to the Geneva documents—were they deliberately intending to ignore them? What they had in mind was fitting the provisions of the Geneva accords to suit one thing only: the withdrawal of our troops. Obviously they were connecting the withdrawal of the Soviet soldiers with their hopes that victory in the civil war would not be too difficult for their placemen, the Islamic fundamentalists. This idea is also supported by a statement—which is extremely typical in my view—by Ziaul Haq shortly before his death. Addressing the United States, and talking about the strategic regrouping of forces which Washington and Islamabad were intending to coincide, so to speak, with the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, the president emphasized, and I quote: In helping you as a frontline state, we have won the right to have the utmost friendly regime in Kabul.

Such was the calculation. However, speedy victory did not come about. Neither could the flow of the latest weaponry bring it any closer. In 27 of the 32 provinces, there are no more Soviet troops. However, the groupings of the armed opposition were able to seize administrative centers of only six provinces. Perceptible counterstrikes at Qandahar and Jalalabad against the oppositionists in recent days thwarted the plans for transferring the so-called provisional government from Pakistan to Afghanistan. In a word, nothing is coming from the ventures under the cover of the Geneva accords to solve the Afghan question for selfish purposes.

In this way a situation is forming, which in the logic of things, will force those who have overestimated the strength of the opposition and their own influence on Afghan events to review their tactics. However, to be frank, the United States and Pakistan, and indeed the Afghan opposition, have not yet soberly reassessed the present situation. They still appear to be moving by inertia, moving toward the illusion of victory.

And yet, in the United States—and this is characteristic in my view—voices have started to call on the White House to refrain from a military solution to the Afghan question. One of the leading experts on Afghan affairs, Selig Harrison, warned recently on the pages of THE NEW YORK TIMES that the United States, instead of pouring oil on the flames of the Afghan conflict, should, as he put it, allow the creation in Afghanistan of a genuinely neutral, coalition government. From his viewpoint, Washington should finally understand that the artificial alliance of the opposition forces is hampering

the achievement of these aims. In his view, the realization of this will open up the possibility of seeking effective ways of national dialogue among all Afghans.

Well, it is precisely the path of political compromise that the Soviet Union and the Afghan leadership have long favored. I remind you that the participants in the session of the Higher Extraordinary Council for National Reconciliation a few days ago addressed a message to the Afghan people noting that Afghans have no other choice than to achieve national accord. Indeed, the Afghans are now faced with one common task—the task of maintaining the unity of the nation, and hence common responsibility for the future of the country.

'Extremists' Ambush UN Relief Convoy 26 Nov
LD0112190288 Moscow TASS in English 1803 GMT
1 Dec 88

[Text] Kabul December TASS—Extremists from the Islamic Party of Afghanistan (Hezb-e Islami), led by Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, have looted 10 vehicles carrying U.N. relief cargo to the population of Panjsher District, a spokesman for the Foreign Affairs Ministry of the Republic of Afghanistan told a news briefing today.

Muhammed Nabi Amani [name as received] said that on November 26 the convoy of 18 private vehicles was heading from Kabul to Panjsher District with a cargo of drugs, seeds and chemical fertilisers granted by the world community within the framework of the U.N. programme of humanitarian and economic aid to Afghanistan. The Afghan authorities offered protection for the convoy but the U.N. representatives refused it because they had an agreement on the unimpeded passage of the convoy to Panjsher with the command of opposition groups controlling this region.

The convoy was intercepted by the extremists near the town of Charikar. The extremists looted 10 vehicles, captured the drivers and their assistants, as well as a representative of the office of the High Commissioner for Refugees in Kabul, Canadian Luis Barbo. The other 8 vehicles together with the head of the UNICEF office in Kabul, Lee O'Reilly, a citizen of Ireland, broke through and reached the the point of destination safely.

The Afghan authorities and U.N. representatives asked the command of the opposition to release Barbo, but the situation remained unclear for several days. Only after consultations with Peshawar the extremists released the U.N. employee on November 30.

Amani pointed out that the capture of the convoy was probably explained by opposition infighting and the lack of coordination between opposition groups.

U.S. Adviser Reportedly Killed in Afghanistan
*LD0112204088 Moscow TASS in English 1743 GMT
1 Dec 88*

[Text] Kabul December 1 TASS—Anti-government groups which recently suffered a heavy defeat from the Afghan Government forces have once again launched an offensive in the country's Eastern Province of Nangarhar.

Supported by nearly 2,000 Pakistani troops, the extremists seized the border post of Towr Kham. At present government army units are fighting back rebel forces attacks whose ultimate objective is to capture the provincial capital Jalalabad.

In some parts of the province and, in particular, in the district of Shiveh, government forces have inflicted serious blows on the enemy. In the course of today alone, some 20 extremists were killed or wounded and their weapons and ammunition depot was seized. In Shiveh, an American military advisor with a rebel group was killed.

Military Paper Notes Hostilities in Afghanistan
*PM3011164988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 30 Nov 88 First Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "Afghanistan: Battles With the Opposition"]

[Text] Kabul, 29 Nov—Rallies and meetings of enterprise and establishment labor collectives are being held in various parts of Afghanistan in honor of Constitution Day, which is being celebrated in the republic today. Their participants emphasize the lasting significance of the country's fundamental law for strengthening democracy, ensuring the legal life of society, and returning refugees to the motherland. In their speeches workers, peasants, and representatives of the intelligentsia urge all Afghans inside and outside the country, as well as the opposition forces, to heed the voice of reason and help to restore peace.

Last Friday aircraft and artillery of the Afghan Armed Forces inflicted a powerful strike against armed groupings of the intransigent opposition in Nangarhar Province. According to a BAKHTAR Agency report, the extremists lost more than 100 people killed and 76 injured. Regular troops destroyed six recoilless rifles, seven rocket launchers, and five weapons dumps. As the result of an operation to clear the Jalalabad-Kabul road, it has been reopened to motor traffic.

A few days ago Pakistani Army subunits and militia formations directly participated in fighting for the Towr Kham-Jalalabad road against Afghan units. Afghan troops took countermeasures and inflicted defeat on the enemy forces, putting 175 people out of commission. The enemy lost a further 46 people killed in Sorabi [name as transliterated] District.

Over the past 24 hours combat operations have been conducted against armed opposition detachments in the population centers of Kotal-Baba and Sarpuza [names as transliterated] in Qandahar Province, in the Emam Saheb District of Konduz Province, and in a number of other regions of the republic.

Last Sunday extremists once again used heavy weapons to shell residential districts of the city of Gardeyz. As a result of the barbarous action, one person was killed and three injured.

Lukyanov Receives Afghan Envoy's Credentials
*LD2511131488 Moscow TASS in English 1205 GMT
25 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—Sayyed Muhammad Gulabzoy, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Afghan Republic to the USSR, presented his credentials at the Kremlin today to Anatoliy Lukyanov, alternate member of the CPSU CC Politburo, first vice-president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The friendly and fraternal relations, existing between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan, the ambassador stated during the ceremony, has deep-going historical roots. At present these relations are assuming new content, embracing all the spheres of the two nations' lives. They are of great importance for the defence of Afghanistan's freedom and sovereignty, contribute to the cause of peace and stability in the region. Republic of Afghanistan supports the policy of the Soviet Union based on the new political thinking and aimed at solving of global problems and settlement of regional conflicts. Afghanistan is consistently adhering to the course of national reconciliation, is scrupulously observing the commitments stipulated in the Geneva agreements.

Accepting the ambassador's credentials on behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Presidium and its president, Anatoliy Lukyanov noted that the USSR and Afghanistan were linked by traditional ties of friendship, good-neighbourliness, multifarious and broad-scale cooperation. Intensity of top level contacts between the two countries proves dynamism of Soviet-Afghan interaction. Of particular importance are meetings between Mikhail Gorbachev and President Najibullah, he stressed. They all have proved to be momentous events in the promotion of our bilateral relations, have produced a favourable impact on the international situation.

Today the entire potential of Soviet-Afghan relations is concentrated on the solution of the key problem—achievement of a comprehensive settlement of the Afghan problem, which would allow the Afghan people to go back to constructive labor in the name of progress and well-being of the country under the conditions of peace and stability. The road towards this end is far from

easy. Outside interference in Afghanistan's domestic affairs is being continued, the extremist opposition continues to perpetrate terror and violence against the peaceful population.

The Soviet Union shares the Afghan leadership's conviction that the problem of Afghanistan should be resolved by peaceful means only on the lines of national reconciliation, backs the latest foreign policy initiatives to bring long-awaited peace to the land of Afghanistan. It is high time for the world community to call to order those who continue to violate the Geneva agreements, who abuse the goodwill of the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan for the sake of their selfish interests, which run counter to the aspirations of the Afghan people. The Soviet Union has been and will remain side by side with the Afghans in their struggle for the right to a better future, for their right to be the makers of this future.

After the credentials presentation, Anatoliy Lukyanov and Sayyed Muhammad Gulabzoy had a friendly meeting. The meeting was also attended by Tengiz Menteshashvili, secretary of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, first deputy of the USSR foreign minister.

Lukyanov Receives Sudanese Envoy's Credentials
LD2311163688 Moscow TASS in English 1407 GMT
23 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 23 TASS—Muhammad Osman Muhammad al-'Awad [name as received], the ambassador of the Republic of Sudan, presented his credentials to Anatoliy Lukyanov, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, first vice-president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament), in the Kremlin today.

In his speech the ambassador emphasized that the leadership and people of Sudan attentively followed the Soviet Union's strides in all fields and the pursuance of the policy of perestroika and glasnost.

He voiced satisfaction with the onward development of Soviet-Sudanese relations, and highly appreciated the Soviet Union's historic role in the cause of preventing a nuclear catastrophe, in supporting the liberation movement and in rendering assistance to the peoples of the developing countries in the defence of their sovereignty and ensurance of economic development.

When accepting the credentials on behalf of the Soviet parliament's Presidium and its president, Anatoliy Lukyanov drew the ambassador's attention to the course of the restructuring process in various spheres of Soviet societal life, democratization, and to the Soviet Union's efforts to assert in international affairs the principles of the new political thinking which ushered in a thaw in the world's political climate, and a process of resolving a number of regional conflicts.

He pointed out that the two sides took steps to restore the friendly nature of and to stimulate Soviet-Sudanese relations in various fields. He said political, trade-and-economic contacts were being developed, exchanges of parliamentary delegations had been resumed, and contacts in the fields of culture, science and sports as well as between public organizations had gained in scope, and that there were quite good possibilities for the two countries' cooperation in the international arena as well.

Following the presentation of credentials, Anatoliy Lukyanov and Muhammad Osman Muhammad al-'Awad had a friendly conversation.

Sub-Saharan Africa

'Grounds for Hope' Seen in Namibia Agreement
PM3011121188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 30 Nov 88 Single Edition p 5

[A. Bogomolov report: "Brazzaville Meeting Preview. Final Round of Talks on Settlement of Conflict in Southern Africa Starts"]

[Excerpts] "A hard nut that needed to be cracked has been cracked," South African Foreign Minister R. Botha said in Pretoria. Cuba's PRENSA LATINA agency was more restrained: "It cannot be claimed that this meeting will mark the conclusion of the process, but it undoubtedly heralds a success."

Both quotations refer to the agreement reached by Angola, Cuba, South Africa, and the United States on a settlement in south-west Africa at the recent meeting in Geneva, which is expected to be signed at the new quadripartite meeting due to open today in Brazzaville (Congo). [passage omitted]

There are no grounds for supposing that Angola and Cuba will place any obstacles in the way of fulfillment of the peace plan. Cuba naturally wishes to see its sons again, and Angola naturally wishes to live and work in peace.

But there are grounds for pessimism. South Africa does not intend to abandon its policy of destabilizing the African Frontline States and even now is violating its commitments by continuing to support the splittist National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] grouping. Moreover, racist extremists have launched a campaign against South African President R. Botha and his party, accusing him of placing minerals-rich Namibia in the hands of "communists." There is talk of an early election in South Africa and even a time is mentioned—next spring, precisely when the implementation of the agreements is due to begin. If the ultras come to power in Pretoria the consequences for the situation in the region will be absolutely catastrophic.

There is also concern about continuing U.S. support for UNITA. THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote: "The United States has reserved the right to continue arming the rebels." The UNITA boss, who met with President Botha and Washington administration representative C. Crocker after the Geneva accords were reached, boasts from his "capital," Jamba, that a new stage in the struggle for power in Angola will begin after the Cuban withdrawal.

There are still many difficulties in the way of achieving a real and lasting peace in southern Africa. But the very fact that the talks participants, representing such different countries, were able to reach an agreement says a lot and give grounds for hope.

Central Committee Greet Cape Verde Congress
PM2911114788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee untitled message to African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde Congress]

[Text] To the 3d African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde [PAICV] Congress.

Dear comrades,

The CPSU Central Committee cordially greets the delegates to the 3d PAICV Congress.

Under the PAICV's leadership the people of Cape Verde have achieved notable successes on the path of independent development. Following the behests of its founder, outstanding son of Africa A. Cabral, your party is finding its own original solutions to the socioeconomic, political, and other difficult problems facing the country.

Through its policy of positive nonalignment and its contribution to the struggle for peace and cooperation between peoples and against colonialism and racism the Republic of Cape Verde has earned due respect in the international community.

The CPSU values the fine relations of friendship and cooperation established between our parties and countries and is prepared to develop them further.

We wish the congress fruitful work for the benefit of the Cape Verde people.

CPSU Central Committee

Supreme Soviet Delegation on West Africa Tour

Received by Senegal President
LD2311190188 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1445 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Dakar, 23 Nov (TASS)—Senegal's President Abdou Diouf today received the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation led by Aleksandr Mokuanu, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. [passage omitted] On the same day the Soviet delegation, which had made a short stop in Dakar, left for Guinea-Bissau. In its tour of a number of West African countries, the Soviet parliamentarians earlier visited Ivory Coast and Sierra Leone.

Communique Issued
LD2611052788 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1050 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] Dakar, 25 Nov (TASS)—The positive developments in the current international situation is creating favorable conditions for a substantial improvement in solving vital problems of mankind, says a joint communique published here today on the results of an official visit to Senegal by a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by A.A. Mokuanu, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The document points out that the treaty between the USSR and the United States on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles was an important step in this direction. Stressing the close connection between disarmament and development, the parliamentarians of the two countries spoke in favor of the disarmament process begun by the USSR and the United States and the continuation of their talks on strategic arms reduction. The sides noted the negative effect on the international situation of the existence of hotbeds of tension and expressed confidence that a peaceful settlement to disputes would facilitate the establishment of relations of trust between states and the strengthening of peace in the world. They called for new international economic relations based on equality of rights and justice for all states. The Soviet and Senegalese parliamentarians reaffirmed their full solidarity with the peoples who are fighting for their national liberation.

Visits Guinea-Bissau, Departs
LD2611053088 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1052 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] Guinea-Bissau, 25 Nov (TASS)—The official visit by a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, headed by A.A. Mokuanu, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to the Republic of Guinea-Bissau is over.

The Soviet parliamentarians were received on Thursday by Joao Bernardo Vieira, president of the Council of State of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and head of state.

The revolutionary changes taking place in the USSR under the badge of restructuring and glasnost meet with our eager interest and approval, J.B. Vieira emphasized. The new political thinking being demonstrated by the USSR in the international arena is finding more and more supporters the world over. Guinea-Bissau is among those who share the Soviet leadership's point of view on some of the most important problems of the present day and invariably comes out in support of the CPSU's peace-loving foreign policy. The relations of friendship and cooperation between the peoples of our countries were established back in the period of the Guinea-Bissau people's struggle for national independence. The head of state expressed confidence that these relations will continue to strengthen. He spoke out in favor of the development of interparty scientific-technical and cultural ties.

The Soviet delegation also met with Carmen Pereira, president of the National People's Assembly; Filinto de Barros, minister of national resources and industry; and (Bernardina Cardosa), minister of planning. An exchange of information was held on the work of the two countries' parliaments and topical international problems and questions of bilateral relations were discussed. The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation left for home today.

East Europe

New Polish Prime Minister Rakowski Interviewed
PM2911150188 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 46
14-20 Nov 88 (Signed to Press 16 Nov 88) pp 13, 14

[Interview with M. Rakowski, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, in Warsaw by own special correspondent Andrey Malgin, under the rubric "Guest of Page Thirteen": "Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers"; date not given—first two paragraphs are NEDELYA introduction]

[Text] Warsaw—On 27 September 1988 Mieczyslaw Franciszek Rakowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, became chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers. He joined the Polish workers party in 1946 and has been a member of the PZPR since 1948, and a Polish Sejm deputy since 1972. He has worked as deputy chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers and vice marshal of the Sejm; he has headed the Socioeconomic Affairs Commission of the 9th convocation of the Sejm, the Economic Initiatives Support Society, and—the Polish Yacht Club. He was awarded the State Prize for his writings on sociopolitical themes.

Today the new Polish head of government is a guest of page 13.

[Malgin] Comrade Rakowski, you worked for 15 years as chief editor of POLITYKA. During all this time your weekly was noted for the independence of its views and for raising exceptionally acute problems of the country's

social and political life. In the seventies POLITYKA boldly opposed the phenomena of stagnation in Polish society and took up a very critical stance in respect to many of the actions of the leadership of the day. It has even been said that it was an opposition weekly.

Now you find yourself at the head of the government, and this government also has its opposition in the country, including an opposition which proceeds from constructive positions, as POLITYKA did in its time. As for the phrase "constructive opposition," I took this from your own words in your interview with Soviet television.

Could you explain, please, how you view relations between the opposition and the authorities in Poland, to what extent should the government take account of the opinions of the opposition, in your view, and whether the opposition forces present a threat to the socialist system?

[Rakowski] First of all I would like to say that I never regarded POLITYKA as an opposition publication. On the other hand, I have always held the view that what is needed in our political system is a press which freely expresses its views and adopts critical stances, the view that the press is an instrument from which the authorities can learn about their mistakes and even obtain advice on how to rectify these mistakes. I have always believed that the press has a right to this, even during the most difficult times.

Unfortunately, for a long time, components by which the activities of the authorities at all levels and in all sectors—economic, social, political, and so forth—could be constantly monitored were lacking in our system. So this role fell to the press.

As for the question of the opposition, I must make one reservation. Opposition is a political concept which is used throughout the world, but which can be endowed with different meanings. The common view is that opposition forces stand against the policy of a given party or government. Within modern political systems the opposition, as a rule, seeks to replace the group which is in power. In capitalist states this takes the form of a change of cabinet during elections which are held every 4 or 5 years.

In the case of Poland, it is true that the opposition forces have come to the surface at present. Naturally, their role is different from that of the classical opposition in capitalist countries, for the socioeconomic system in our country is different.

Our opposition is a relatively motley crowd. The roots of certain opposition groups go back for centuries, others date back to the forties of this century, and yet others have only emerged in the eighties. Recently we have put forward the concept of constructive opposition. These

are forces whose program is based on the Polish Constitution, forces which do not seek to change the existing social system but which on the contrary want to improve it.

It is true that this immediately gives rise to the question of whether the people who make up this opposition are willing to agree to this status. After all, once they have adopted it, they have set a limit on their ambitions.

Up to now this question remains unanswered, and this is not surprising. The term constructive opposition has been proposed by us, not by the opposition itself. Those to whom we refer by this term try to avoid being explicit on this question. What is more, they try to avoid the word "socialism" altogether.

However, there is also another opposition in our country, an opposition which occupies overtly antisocialist positions. Its aim, and this is stated quite openly, is to change the existing socioeconomic system. It is usually difficult to get members of this opposition to answer the question as to what system they would like to have. While the constructive opposition is loath to use the word "socialism" as it were, you are not likely to hear the word "capitalism" pronounced aloud by the others. Be that as it may, this section of the opposition engages in an open struggle against the Polish communists and their allies.

So this is what the political map of present-day Poland looks like. However, for it to be completely accurate, one should note the following—namely, that the majority of the figures of the various opposition groups receive help from abroad, especially from the United States.

As people will be aware, the U.S. Congress annually appropriates certain sums to support the opposition in Poland. One of our well-known scientists, who is, incidentally, not a member of the party, recently said that people whose public activity is financed from abroad are, as is expressed in political terms, foreign agents.

Be that as it may, the opposition groups and the mood in Poland are a fact of our reality, and we have no right to ignore them. Our party is seeking to create political conditions in which everyone who holds a critical view of our policy but is interested in building a socialist society has the opportunity to express himself and participate in this work.

The moment has now come when the figures in the opposition must clearly state whether the concept we proposed meets their aspirations. If it does, the basis of what we call national accord will broaden considerably. If, however, people in the ranks of the opposition remain committed to the "all or nothing" principle, the situation will change, and not to their benefit.

[Malgin] Our readers want to know about "Solidarity." Does this movement exist now, and does it exert a real influence on the country's political life and the molding of public opinion?

[Rakowski] Illegal "Solidarity" structures do exist in a number of industrial enterprises. We know about this. And, moreover, a "Solidarity" leadership, known to all, exists. But while the leadership of the party and country has been considerably renewed in the last 8 years, "Solidarity's" leadership remains the same and its highly outdated stances have not altered.

"Solidarity" now exerts a very insignificant influence on the country's political life, in my view. Ex-members of "Solidarity" are of course, a diverse lot. Some experience a certain nostalgia for the very word itself. Others hold that "Solidarity" was an essential factor that forced the authorities to act in the people's interests. For others "Solidarity" is already part of history, a thing of the past. For many (particularly young people) it is already simply a myth.

At the present time "Solidarity's" political activity (and it has always been engaged in purely political activity, although it was considered to be a trade union) is pursued by certain of its leaders possessed of inordinate political ambition. They are no longer able to involve the broad masses of the people in this activity.

The latest research conducted by the Public Opinion Survey Center shows that only 6 percent of respondents think that "Solidarity" should exist. On the other hand, the bulk—56 percent—do not care what kind of trade union there is, provided only that it defends their interests.

I think that the fallacies concerning "Solidarity's" role in the country's political life are maintained exclusively from abroad. Virtually every day "Solidarity" figures give interviews to Radio Free Europe and other Western radio stations and try to influence public opinion inside the country. But I am certain that the greater part of Polish society does not pin its hopes on the need to reconstitute "Solidarity."

[Malgin] Is the recent government decision to close the Gdansk shipyard connected with its well-known past?

[Rakowski] I have heard that the government (and for some reason I personally) is taking revenge on the shipyard, which was the "cradle" of "Solidarity." In actual fact discussions on the closure of this major loss-making production unit have been under way for a long time. The question was already on the agenda.

When we decided to close the yard, it was economic factors that played the primary role, although we did, of course, appreciate that it could be interpreted as a

political decision. But if we do not take resolute measures to make the structure of our industry more rational, we will simply perish. It is difficult to describe a situation in which one section of Polish workers maintains another as normal. There should be no loss-making production units.

And yet one has heard the following: One "Solidarity" organization in Silesia adopted a decision which says that the "Rakowski order to close the yard is a classic example of the defense of a Stalinist economic system." You have to be paranoid or a complete historical ignoramus to say something like that.

[Malgin] Because we have started talking about the economy, could you describe in a few words the content and basic tasks of your government's economic program? As I understand it, it is a pretty radical program...

[Rakowski] Our main task is to clear up the consequences of the economic crisis that erupted in Poland in 1980-81. Economic reform is the means to this end. The reform primarily consists of a range of instruments enabling an overall improvement of the Polish economy and rationalization of production and nonproduction processes both in an individual enterprise and in every sector as a whole.

Many things in our economy need to be thoroughly reorganized. This means scrapping nonprofitable enterprises, reducing state subsidies to the minimum, and redeploying the workforce.

Here is just one example. There are textile factories in Lodz which receive first-rate raw materials and have marvelous modern machine tools but which operate just one shift because they do not have the manpower. Alongside this you have factories whose equipment recalls World War I. They consume far more energy and raw materials. If production is to be rationalized these old enterprises must be closed and people redeployed to where there is new, more productive and economical machinery which repays two- and three-shift operations.

But that is not all. The rationalization of the economy means creating social and production conditions that enable people within the production process to feel really free and the subject rather than the object of labor, so that they are able to take part in making decisions on what should be produced and the direction in which the enterprise develops.

In other words, economic levers must be used to end the practice of alienating people from production. Unfortunately, the worker has hitherto been alienated from the production process in our society, his creative potential and natural abilities have found no application, and he has become merely a cog in a large labor-consuming machine.

These are our basic strategic aims. However, if we are talking about concrete actions, we want to solve three prime tasks.

First, our adopted course of developing agriculture and increasing agricultural output, which also entails developing the processing industry.

Second, housing construction.

Third, environmental protection.

All three of these priority planks in our economic policy are bound up with the need for not only structural changes, but often for people's mentality and prevailing traditions and habits to be broken down.

It is not usual in our country, for example, to construct wooden houses, although 27 percent of Poland is covered by forests. In Scandinavia, on the other hand, where the climate is much worse, building with wood is carried out everywhere, not to mention your country. People must be persuaded to use the materials that are literally at hand.

[Malgin] You became chairman of the Council of Ministers 2 months ago after the previous government resigned en masse—an unprecedented event, I think, in the history of socialist states. You spent several weeks putting a new cabinet together. And the government has now been formed. Could you introduce your colleagues to us?

[Rakowski] I would describe those holding the key posts in our economy as new people in the sense that they have come from the sidelines, as it were, thereby destroying traditional notions about a ministerial career.

Some of them, for example, are simply too young to have reached this office by advancing step by step along the tried-and-tested path in the party or state apparatus. Our minister of finance, Andrzej Wroblewski, is 38. In nominating him for this post we were guided solely by his professional qualities, which he was able to demonstrate in various state posts, rather than by his curriculum vitae.

Dominik Jastrzebski became the new minister for foreign economic cooperation. In his early forties, he was a first-rate general director of Pagieda, a firm successfully selling Polish furniture abroad. New ideas erupt from him as if from a volcano, and he is inclined, moreover, to unusual, untraditional solutions. That, it should be noted, does not happen often among "professional" leaders.

But it was the appointment of Mieczyslaw Wilczek, a major private businessman since 1974, as minister of industry, that excited public opinion the most. Western newspapers, which played up this detail of his career for

all it was worth, even describing him as a "party millionaire," ignored, however, the following point: M. Wilczek has two higher degrees [vysshiye obrazovaniya], has worked in every sector of Polish industry, and has a first-rate knowledge of both its virtues and deficiencies. Moreover, he has 20 registered inventions to his credit, possesses enormous organizational experience, and has run large collectives. I was attracted to him by that rare combination of experience, enterprise, professional knowledge, and the ability to quickly formulate a position and defend it.

I think that this type of minister is particularly needed by Poland today. We must break down the prejudices accreted over years and assign the leadership of the country and its economy to people capable of producing the best return. Such people are able to look at our reserves—and they are vast—in a fresh way.

I read the following simile somewhere: Inviting Wilczek into the government is equivalent to releasing a pike into a pond full of fat, lazy carp. You know, strange as though it may seem, the comparison pleased me: A pike will immediately make the indolent carp move more swiftly and be more careful and resourceful.

The main thing is that these people are consumed by reformist ideas, they know what has to be done to get the economy moving, and each of them has his own well-conceived and clear program.

[Malgin] You were recently on an official visit to Moscow. What are your impressions of your meetings and conversations with the Soviet leaders?

[Rakowski] The very best. I met with N.I. Ryzhkov, and we began discussing important questions concerning cooperation between our countries forthwith during our meeting at the airport and in the car heading for the city. He is a competent, well-educated, flexible leader, the right man for the job, as they say. I was already acquainted with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, and our new meeting, I venture to hope, brought us even closer. Gorbachev is a marvelous combination of solid pragmatism and philosophical reflection on the future of socialism, his country, and the world. We discovered full agreement with both leaders on our people's past, present, and future.

The Soviet Union is our largest economic partner. My interlocutors and I came to the conclusion that a very great deal still has to be done in the sphere of economic cooperation. These relations must be developed, new forms sought, and the numerous bureaucratic barriers that hamper our cooperation jettisoned. I would say that the edifice of our mutually beneficial economic relations is still surrounded by scaffolding.

Is it normal, for example, that the director of a Soviet enterprise cooperating with one of our enterprises cannot quickly communicate with his Polish colleague by

telephone? Not to mention the fact that in the conditions of the economic reform the director of such an enterprise should have considerably greater freedom of action and not have to coordinate every minor detail with his superiors.

I repeat: This applies to both Soviet and Polish enterprises. Economic independence offers them new and unprecedented opportunities for direct cooperation. I think that because of this our economic cooperation will reach a new level in the nineties.

[Malgin] In your view, do ordinary Polish citizens support your radical economic program, or are they still fearful for the immediate future? I know that many people do not like your style of leadership, the "firm hand," as it were...

[Rakowski] The new government has not been in office long. However, I see growing support among ordinary people and a changing attitude toward the government's actions. I would even say that there is a definite psychological breakthrough in a society which has become tired of endless debates and pointless discussion. People are bored with the empty chatter which has not brought any improvement to their lives. Our predecessors tried to reduce the entire economic reform to raising prices. Public opinion now realizes that it is not merely a question of prices, and that is the first achievement of our policy.

Let us consider what the days and weeks ahead are going to be like, because the situation is unstable. The opposition, particularly that section which has its roots in Solidarity, is extremely indignant at the closure of the Gdansk shipyard and intends to cause the government definite problems. This is a time for strong nerves. I have already experienced personal attacks and even insults.

As for the question of the "firm hand," Poles naturally want democracy in the country. Democratic freedoms and democratic relations should be further broadened. Nevertheless, society needs a "firm hand"—not in the sense that it is necessary to resort to repression again but in the sense that the government must be consistent and resolute in its actions. To tell the truth, I am surprised that they are now calling me "firm," for I have always considered myself a flabby liberal.

If the reform is implemented consistently and in the direction that we envisage, we are bound to face all kinds of protests. In my very first speech as the head of government in the Sejm I said that such attitudes would be no surprise to me. I am ready for that. It is simply necessary to survive this very difficult stage in Poland's history so that our country can enter the 21st century as a healthy state with a strong economy, which is impossible without a resolute policy. There is enormous work in prospect.

[Malgin] Not in prospect. I think that the past 2 months have not been the easiest period in your life. Please describe your working day for us...

[Rakowski] With pleasure. I wake up at 0630, go to the swimming pool at 0800 each morning, and reach work at 0900. I leave the Central Committee building between 0700-0730 each evening, taking essential papers home with me, and continue working at home until approximately midnight. I go to bed at 0100 without fail.

I have not had any free time yet. I do not regard this state of affairs as normal because for anybody such a work regime must inevitably lead to drop in productivity and the quality of work. I want to gradually restore my days off and subsequently free evenings. Ultimately every battery needs to be recharged from time to time. I do not have the time either for reading or for writing books of my own. For that reason I have had to temporarily put aside the manuscript of a book on Soviet restructuring, but I expect to return to it soon.

[Malgin] I have heard that you have many different kinds of hobbies...

[Rakowski] Not that many. I am very fond of Masuria—a region of northern Poland—and I have been there for my vacation several years in a row now. I used to be an active yachtsman but now I only go swimming and fishing. I like woodcarving very much but I am purely an amateur. Of course there is no time for all that now. But there is one pursuit I cannot forgo: I keep a diary, I make entries in it every day, and this evening I shall be writing in it about our conversation...

[Malgin] Thank you for this conversation. Permit me, on behalf of NEDELYA's readers, to wish you success in all your ventures.

AWP Rallies Celebrate Albanian Independence
PM0112161588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Dec 88 Second Edition p 8

[TASS report: "R. Alia Speech"]

[Text] Tirana, 30 Nov—ATA [Albanian Telegraph Agency] reports that Albania has celebrated its national day. Ceremonial meetings and rallies marking the day of the proclamation of Albania's independence from the Turkish yoke and the 44th anniversary of the country's liberation from the fascist occupiers and the victory of the people's revolution were held in the country's districts.

R. Alia, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee and chairman of the People's Assembly Presidium of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, addressed a crowded rally in Sarande. He noted the great significance for the country's history of the proclamation of Albania's independence on 28 November 1912. The victory of the people's revolution on 29 November 1944, he said,

ushered in a new epoch when man not only gained national freedom but was also freed from oppression and exploitation. That victory led to people's power because the revolution was headed by the Communist Party of Albania, our workers party, the Albanian leader emphasized. He touched in detail on the fundamental transformations in Albania during the years of socialist building and the achievements and tasks of the working people of Sarande District.

Albanian Economic, Trade Developments Traced
PM2911152588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Nov 88 Second Edition p 6

[Article by N. Yurchenko: "Albania: An Important Date"]

[Text] On 29 November the People's Socialist Republic of Albania observes a national holiday: the 44th anniversary of the country's liberation from the fascist occupiers and the victory of the people's revolution.

In the history of the Albanian people, one of the most ancient on the Balkan peninsula, there are many glorious chapters of which they have a right to be proud. One of the most important is the Albanian working people's national liberation struggle under the leadership of the Albanian Communist Party (now the AWP) against the Italian and then German fascist aggressors during World War II, as a result of which they not only upheld their freedom and independence but also took power into their own hands.

Following liberation and the victorious people's democratic revolution, Albania embarked on profound socioeconomic transformations. In surmounting the grim feudal-bourgeois legacy, resurrecting the war-ravaged economy, and reorganizing society on socialist lines, it relied on the solidarity and support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The face of the country has changed significantly during the years of people's power. From a backward country in which more than 80 percent of the population was illiterate, it turned into an agrarian-industrial state with multisectoral industry, developed agriculture, and a network of educational and scientific institutions.

The fulfillment of the targets of the Seventh 5-Year Plan (1981-85) was an important stage on the path of socialist building in Albania, as was noted in the materials of the 9th AWP Congress (November 1986). Today the Albanian people are tackling the tasks of the new 5-year plan (1986-90), chief among which are the further strengthening of the socialist system, advancement along the path of transforming Albania into an industrial-agrarian country, and an improved material and cultural standard for working people.

In order to implement these tasks, demands are being put forward for new economic thinking, the activation of the human factor, and the bringing of party, state, and economic bodies' work style and methods into line with the demands of the times. For the purpose of improving economic efficiency, measures are being implemented on strengthening plan and financial, contract, and labor discipline, making more rational use of existing production capacities, speeding up the construction of economic and social and cultural facilities, and conserving raw materials and supplies. State enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, and local bodies have been granted greater independence in matters of planning and production. Wider use is being made of material labor incentives. In the social sphere efforts are geared to implementing the food program adopted by the Third AWP Central Committee Plenum (April 1987), increasing consumer goods production, and providing all villages with drinking water.

In the foreign policy sphere Albania recently has been increasingly active in widening international ties, primarily within the framework of Balkan cooperation. The process of normalizing relations with the socialist countries continues, while, at the same time, there is a desire to settle disputes with West European countries that have been inherited from the past. Albania, as its leaders stress, "favors the creation of a genuine atmosphere of trust and friendship between peoples and the development of normal, mutually advantageous relations with all states that respect the principles on the basis of which relations between sovereign states are regulated."

The Soviet people have feelings of the most sincere sympathy for the Albanian people and remember their selfless struggle against fascism and for the establishment of people's power and the socialist transformation of society. They regard as unnatural the situation that has existed since the early sixties in Soviet-Albanian relations in which there has been no contact between the two socialist states.

On the basis of the principled course of improving relations with all countries, the Soviet Union consistently advocates the normalization of relations with Albania on the basis of full equality; respect for sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity; noninterference in one another's internal affairs, and mutual advantage. The Soviet Union is convinced that the removal of the accretions of our countries' period of separation and a joint quest for mutually acceptable ways of reestablishing equal and mutually advantageous cooperation would meet the interests of the peoples of both states and the cause of peace and socialism.

In congratulating the Albanian working people on their national holiday—the 44th anniversary of the liberation of Albania from the fascist occupiers and the victory of the people's revolution—the Soviet people wish them peace and prosperity and successes in socialist building.

Agayants Examines Changes in Albanian Policies
LD3011184888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1030 GMT 30 Nov 88

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Igor Surguchev]

[Text] [Surguchev] The Albanian people have marked their national holiday, the day of liberation and of the victory of the people's revolution. Many of our listeners have asked us to discuss Albania in more detail, about what is happening in that country, and about its relations with the outside world and with the Soviet Union in particular. I am handing this over to my colleague, Nikolay Agayants.

[Agayants] The mountainous land on the shore of the Adriatic, with an area of 28,748 square km and a population of about 3 million, has until recently been terra incognita—that is, an unknown land, a blank spot on the political map of today's world—due to the well-known course of the Albanian leadership toward isolation. At any rate, they were not very keen to open their doors to foreign journalists, and it was possible to judge the processes taking place in the country only according to official reports in the local press and on radio and television, according to party documents, or from patchy evidence from diplomats who had worked in Tirana.

Now the situation is changing, and for the better. Under the influence of positive shifts that have embraced the life of the whole globe, and in line with the objective requirements of developing relations between states, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is gradually emerging from a state of isolation and is establishing contacts and ties with other countries. While, for example, some 10 years ago it maintained diplomatic relations with 70 states, this figure now has reached 111. Albania's trade and economic ties are developing with more than 50 countries.

In recent years, the proportion of goods such as petroleum products, minerals, chrome ore, copper wire, cables, construction materials, products of the food and light industries, agricultural produce, tobacco, and arts and crafts items has increased among its exports. Abroad, the Republic purchases various machine tools and machinery, industrial equipment, chemicals, artificial fertilizers, and other goods. It has to be noted that the balance of imports and exports is watched closely in Albania. The mass media constantly remind the population that there cannot be imports without exports. This country, where before World War II about 80,000 people would die every year of malaria, where there was no electricity in one of the villages in which more than two-thirds of Albanians then lived, last year started using the Albania-wide information technology system based on six French computers from the Bull firm. This country has also become a major exporter of electricity to its neighbors in the Balkans, and it is even selling it to Austria.

As foreign journalists who have been in Albania recently note—in particular, the correspondent of the U.S. newspaper CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR writes about this—the Albanian press, radio, and television—and color television has been operating in the country since 1983—all these media now have become considerably more informative than previously. Thus, Albania indisputably is changing. However, one can thus far regrettably reply only in the negative to the question of whether these changes are affecting the current Albanian leadership's attitude toward our country. Little has changed also in the tone of the Albanian mass media, which routinely continue to have very tendentious articles on our foreign and domestic policies.

Well, I think we will have enough patience to wait for positive shifts in the sphere of Soviet-Albanian relations as well. At any rate, our country consistently advocates healthier and normal relations on the basis of the strict observance of the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and independence, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, and mutual benefit. As has been repeatedly observed by the Soviet side, if there is mutual goodwill, it is possible to settle this issue successfully in the interests of the peoples of both states and of the cause of peace and socialism.

Party, Government Greetings on SFRY Republic Day
PM2911143988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Nov 88 Second Edition p 2

[Undated USSR party and government message to SFRY leaders on SFRY Republic Day]

[Text] To Comrade Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency

To Comrade Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium

To Comrade Branko Mikulic, president of the LCY Federal Executive Council

Dear comrades!

On the Soviet people's behalf we cordially congratulate you, the LCY Central Committee, the SFRY Presidency, the Federal Executive Council, and the fraternal peoples and ethnic groups of the SFRY on Republic Day, the country's national holiday.

The Soviet people, who are implementing the 27th CPSU Congress and 19th all-union party conference decisions on the radical restructuring of all spheres of social life, appreciate and understand the cares and concerns of Yugoslav Communists and the country's working people and their aim of accelerating the process of implementing the urgent reforms of the political and economic system of socialist self-management and transformations in the LCY.

Despite the diversity of the conditions in which the USSR and the SFRY are carrying out creative searches for ways and means of renewing socialism and revealing more fully its creative potential, their mutual enrichment with experience in resolving many similar problems gives new dimensions to bilateral cooperation, extends the horizons of collaboration at a crucial stage in the development of socialism, and strengthens the comradely interest in each other's successes.

The growth of mutual trust between the CPSU and the LCY and between the USSR and the SFRY is reliably served by the firmly established practice of regular political dialogue at all levels. The commitment to jointly formulated principles and the consistent implementation of the provisions of the Soviet-Yugoslav declaration adopted in March 1988 offer broad prospects for deepening the dynamically developing equitable cooperation in various spheres and the consolidation of the traditional friendship between our countries' peoples.

The Soviet Union respects Yugoslavia's consistent peace-loving policy, its resourceful participation in strengthening the positive trends that are gaining momentum in international politics and in the building of the common European home, and its prominent role in the Nonaligned Movement—an important factor in the struggle for the democratization of international relations, the establishment of the new political thinking, the elimination of the nuclear threat, and disarmament.

We wish you, dear comrades, the communists, and all the working people of the SFRY success in implementing the decisions of the 13th LCY Congress and the LCY conference and the guidelines of subsequent LCY Central Committee plenums aimed at ensuring the all-around progress of the peoples and ethnic groups of multinational, socialist Yugoslavia.

The CPSU Central Committee

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

The USSR Council of Ministers

West Europe

Medvedev, Delegation Attend Portuguese Congress

Delegation Arrives

PM0112134588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "To Fraternal Party Congress"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation headed by V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, left Moscow for the city of Oporto 30 November at the invitation of the Portuguese Communist Party [PCP] leadership to participate in the work

of the 12th PCP Congress. The delegation comprises A.N. Girenko, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Crimean Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom, and Yu.I. Zuyev, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department.

The delegation was seen off at the airport by L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom; A.S. Kapto, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department; K.N. Brutents, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; and senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee.

The delegation arrived in Oporto the same day. The delegation was met at the airport by Alvaro Cunhal, secretary general of the PCP, and by Albano Nunes, member of the PCP Central Committee Political Commission.

The welcoming party included V.P. Kasatkin, USSR ambassador to Portugal.

Congress Opens in Oporto

LD0112114888 Moscow TASS in English 1116 GMT
1 Dec 88

[Text] Oporto (Portugal) December 1 TASS—The 12th congress of the Portuguese Communist Party opened today in Porto, the second biggest city of Portugal.

The Crystal Palace where the congress is being held is decked with red flags and streamers. A large red streamer with the inscription "with the Portuguese Communist Party—for advanced democracy on the threshold of the 21st century" is fixed over the presidium. The inscription reflects the theme which is in the centre of attention of the forum of Portuguese Communists. Some 2,000 delegates from all the parts of the country will discuss for four days the internal political situation of Portugal, the tasks facing the party on the present stage, its tactics and prospects at the elections to the local government bodies due to be held this year. They will also discuss the present-day international situation, the struggle for peace and disarmament, as well as the consolidation of unity of the international communist and working-class movement. Delegates of the congress will adopt a new program of the Portuguese Communist Party and introduce changes in its rules. The congress was preceded by a broad discussion that lasted several months in the course of which party members analyzed documents submitted for the consideration of the congress, put forward their proposals and amendments. They were taken into account during the working out of the draft documents to be examined by the congress.

The congress is being attended by representatives of some 70 fraternal communist and workers' parties and progressive organizations. A delegation of the Soviet Communist Party is led by Vadim Medvedev, member of the Politbureau and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

Medvedev Addresses Congress

PM0212135188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS and PRAVDA special correspondent report on speech by V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the 1 December session of the 12th Portuguese Communist Party Congress in Oporto, under the general heading: "Source of Inspiration"]

[Text] Dear comrades! I send you, delegates to the 12th Portuguese Communist Party [PCP] Congress, and all Portuguese Communists fraternal greetings from the CPSU Central Committee and our country's Communists.

M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, sends you an expression of goodwill and wishes for success in your work. He has very warm memories of his own participation in the work of the 10th PCP Congress, held in this very same hall, and of his cordial meetings with Portuguese Communists and the working people of the city of Oporto.

Our country knows and deeply respects the PCP for its selfless struggle to defend the interests of the working class and all working people, which it has waged throughout its heroic history.

The report delivered on behalf of the PCP Central Committee by Comrade Alvaro Cunhal clearly outlined the main directions of this struggle at the present stage of development in Portuguese society. The Central Committee report is convincing evidence that your party is thinking along contemporary lines and endeavoring to work actively to rally the people's masses and the country's broad patriotic forces around it. We wish you success on this path.

Comrades! In the history of society's development there are occasionally periods when the need arises to seriously examine past achievements and determine future development prospects. This is precisely the period our socialist society has reached today. It has come face to face with a new historical challenge and needs far-reaching, qualitative renewal and greater dynamism.

There is absolutely no reason to belittle the significance of the enormous social and economic transformations that have been made in our country over the past 7

decades. In many areas of social progress, socialism has become an example of how to resolve the tasks mankind encounters today. It is exerting an enormous impact on all world development.

At the same time, we have frankly admitted that, since the end of the seventies, negative elements, shortcomings in the economy, and laggardness in the social sphere have become apparent in our development. As a social system, socialism has begun to lose its attraction.

As Communists, we could not, do not have any right to reconcile ourselves to these trends of development, considering that this also complicates the work of our friends abroad and all those who take inspiration from socialist ideals.

This situation was studied in detail at the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress. It was then that we adopted a course of revolutionary changes designed to reveal socialism's gigantic potential to the maximum, give it a second wind, and enhance its authority and attraction.

That is how our restructuring process began. While meeting the requirements of our society's internal development, it has also had an international impact and drawn attention in broad circles of the world community.

I would particularly like to emphasize that we are seeking answers to the new questions posed by life along the path laid by the Great October Revolution, Lenin's path, the path of socialism. We will never deviate from this path. Our friends can have no doubts on this score, and our enemies—no illusions or hopes.

Our interpretation of restructuring is the renewal of socialism, its liberation from everything that is alien or has outlived its day, its rise to a higher level of development, and its confirmation as the most progressive, democratic form of social life entering the 21st century.

Reform of the political system and the all-around democratization of our society have now been moved to the forefront of restructuring. This task was set by last summer's 19th all-union party conference.

A key aspect of the reform of the political system is to restore full power to the soviets, as bodies of the people's genuine self-management. This is the crux of the laws on amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution and elections of USSR people's deputies passed today by the USSR Supreme Soviet after a nationwide discussion.

This does not signify any depreciation of the role played by the Communist Party. The position held by the CPSU as society's political vanguard is being fully preserved

and its responsibility to the people increased. Its fulfillment of this role will be helped by freeing the party from uncharacteristic functions of state and economic management and by the deep democratization of all internal party life.

The important questions of relations between the union and the national republics incorporated in it and the relationship between central and local soviets are also on the political reform agenda. Our friends are aware of Soviet society's achievements in the solution of the national issue. At the same time, in a multiethnic country such as ours, a considerable number of problems have accumulated in this sphere in past years. We need decisions that have been properly thought through and which fully accord with the present level of social development. A special CPSU Central Committee plenum will be devoted to the discussion of these issues.

Another very important aspect of restructuring is radical economic reform. We want to reach the stage where people really feel themselves to be the owner of public property and can really influence the solution of economic and social issues in society as a whole and also in every enterprise, city, and village. By developing economic methods to the utmost we want to increase the interest of every working person—worker, peasant, engineer—in the results of his work and, on this basis, speed up scientific and technical and economic progress.

Everything is geared to this: the social reorientation of economic development and changes in structural policy, planning, management, and other instruments of the national economy.

The laws on the socialist enterprise, the development of the cooperative system, and others adopted in the last 18 months-2 years are designed to do this.

As far as we are concerned, the economy is not an aim in itself. It is intended to serve the working people and satisfy their material and spiritual needs. This is the thrust of the party's social policy, which considers it a paramount state task to accelerate the building of housing, hospitals, schools, kindergartens, and other social institutions and implement radical measures to improve the population's supply of food, commodities, and services.

I must frankly admit, comrades, that the transformations are making heavier weather than we had expected. Not everything is yet as we would wish. The force of inertia is taking its toll and there is still great resistance from bureaucracy, outmoded stereotypes, and everything we term "the braking mechanism."

Quite a lot has been achieved, nevertheless. After marking time for several years the economic situation has begun to improve. But the most important point is that the working people have accepted restructuring as their

own vital cause. The people's initiative is actively intervening in its course and all social life has taken on an unprecedented intensity. The party has managed to create an atmosphere of glasnost and frank, honest discussion of the problems that have built up in our society.

These keen discussions are sometimes not without their "warped" side, as different, sometimes incorrect, views are expressed. We are aware that this could create certain difficulties and prompt natural questions among our foreign friends. But the ideological atmosphere in our country is not determined by these flaws. Numerous constructive proposals are being born in the climate of democratization and glasnost which are aiding the more successful resolution of the tasks of restructuring, and people's creative activeness is increasing.

Comrades! The fundamental renewal of the Soviet Union's foreign policy and the philosophy of international relations which we call the new political thinking are indissolubly linked with restructuring. In this sphere the CPSU combines its loyalty to Lenin's policy of peace and peaceful coexistence with an interpretation of the new realities that have radically changed the face of the modern world.

In just under 4 years the basic elements of the new political thinking have been defined and have gained international recognition: the imperative demand to preserve human civilization in the face of the threat of nuclear annihilation; awareness of the diversity and interdependence of the world; strict respect for every nation's right to freely choose its own destiny; recognition of the impossibility of military solutions to interstate disputes and the importance of finding a balance of interests; and the need for all peoples and states, regardless of their sociopolitical systems, to cooperate to solve the global problems faced by mankind. In this connection one cannot fail to agree with the thesis of your own Central Committee that "there can be no class borders and ideological barriers in the struggle for peace."

Common human values are now moving to the fore in the creation of civilized international relations worthy of our time. These values are not at variance with the class interests of socialism, the working class, and working people of all countries but, on the contrary, fully accord with them. After all, socialism and the working people have a greater interest than anyone else in seeing mankind's future freed from the threat of nuclear catastrophe.

There is every reason to believe that this approach is already producing its first results in international relations. The image of socialism as a "closed" system is gradually being eroded and people are showing more sympathy and interest toward it, including those who previously wanted nothing to do with it.

On our side, the new political thinking has been reflected in our proposed program to free the world of nuclear weapons by the year 2000 and create a comprehensive international security system. Its practical embodiment in foreign policy has already led the Soviet Union to conclude the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles with the United States, which has begun the process of real nuclear disarmament.

It is helping to find ways to really set about resolving regional conflicts, including southwest Africa.

I would like to give a separate mention to Europe. The concept of a "common European home" is gaining increasing recognition here. The commonality of the European peoples' historical and cultural destinies and, at the same time, the unprecedented concentration of weapons on our ancient continent and the existence of two opposed military blocs give particular relevance to the task of making a radical about-face in the direction of improving the situation in Europe and building the foundations of trust and mutually advantageous cooperation.

We are pleased to note the growing interest in the joint building of a "common European home" displayed by the political leaders of European states and their increasing awareness that this idea is not directed against any political unions already in existence.

At the same time we cannot fail to be concerned by the revived trend toward the military integration of West Europe and attempts to circumvent the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles under the guise of "modernizing" nuclear forces. This is fraught with the danger of a new arms race spiral.

The development of normal all-European economic ties is being appreciably impeded by various discriminatory measures, particularly the infamous Cocom lists. Removing all these obstacles and neutralizing negative trends would be in the interests of all European states—and not only the European states.

Increased international trust, including on the European Continent, would undoubtedly be helped by the strengthening of mutual understanding between the Soviet Union and Portugal in the most important international problems, the broadening of Soviet-Portuguese cooperation, and the materialization of the fundamental accords reached during the visit to the Soviet Union in 1987 by Portuguese President M. Soares. We are ready to develop the constructive dialogue begun with the Portuguese side at all levels.

Comrades!

We derive great satisfaction from the fact that relations between the CPSU and the PCP have always been and still are a worthy example of ideological unity and

militant solidarity. We highly value our close internationalist ties with your party and Portuguese Communists' support for our restructuring.

We wish your congress fruitful work and success in all your party activity.

May solidarity between the CPSU and the PCP and friendship between the Soviet and Portuguese peoples develop and grow stronger!

CPSU Greetings Sent

PM0112160588 Moscow PRAYDA in Russian
1 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1

[Undated CPSU Central Committee greetings to 12th Portuguese Communist Party Congress]

[Text] To the 12th Portuguese Communist Party [PCP] Congress

Dear Comrades!

The CPSU Central Committee sends fraternal greetings to the 12th PCP Congress delegates and all Portuguese Communists and wishes the congress successful work.

Your forum is taking place at a portentous time. Changes for the better have appeared in international relations. An unprecedented movement away from confrontation and toward cooperation has begun thanks to the vigorous actions of the forces of reason and good will and the growing understanding of the modern world's integrity and interdependence and of the global nature of the problems of concern to mankind.

At the same time the progressive trends in world development and the processes of easing tension and of disarmament have not yet become irreversible. Under these conditions the closer pooling of the efforts of Communists, all democratic and progressive forces, and

the broad masses of working people and the assertion of the new political thinking in the consciousness and the practical deeds of the world community are assuming special significance.

The CPSU's approach to international affairs stems from the very essence of the restructuring under way in our country. It is the direct continuation of the socialist choice which the Soviet people made in October 1917 and is aimed at improving and fully revealing the advantages of the socialist system. Democratization and glasnost, the political and economic reforms, and the social and moral improvement of society will take our state to a new level of development.

People in the Soviet Union well know of the Portuguese Communists' selfless struggle for the fundamental interests of the working class and all working people, in defense of the gains of the April 1974 revolution, for a democratic and peace-loving Portugal, and for friendship and cooperation between the Soviet and Portuguese peoples.

Expressing wishes for successes in implementing the tasks facing the PCP, Soviet Communists confirm their immutable solidarity with the PCP. The CPSU will continue to develop and strengthen fraternal ties with the PCP in the interests of the working people, peace, and social progress.

Long live the PCP—the Portuguese working people's combat vanguard!

May the fraternal solidarity between the CPSU and the PCP and the friendship between the Soviet and Portuguese peoples strengthen and develop!

Long live peace and socialism!

[Signed] CPSU Central Committee

Political & Social

'Armed Criminals' Hijack Soviet Transport Plane

Hostages Released, Plane Provided

LD0212140288 Moscow TASS in English 1401 GMT
2 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 2 TASS—On December 1 a group of armed criminals commandeered a bus with 30 school-children, a teacher and a driver on board in Ordzhonikidze, Northern Caucasus, with plans to negotiate their own escape abroad by air.

In order to save the lives of the captives, the country's leadership decided to provide the criminals with a Soviet transport plane.

The state Security Service, acting in cooperation with other state agencies, secured the release of the hostages. All the children, the teacher and the driver of the bus were freed and are in satisfactory health.

As demanded by the criminals, the plane is en route to a foreign airport.

Embassy Official in Cyprus Cited

NC0212111588 Paris AFP in English 1114 GMT
2 Dec 88

[Text] Nicosia, Dec 2 (AFP)—A Soviet transport plane, an Ilyushin-76, was hijacked Friday in a bid to divert the plane to Israel, a Soviet Embassy source in the Cypriot capital said.

The bid failed and the aircraft of the Soviet national carrier Aeroflot, apparently on an internal flight, returned to a Moscow airport at around 0630 GMT, according to aviation sources here.

Asked if the hijackers could be Soviet Jews, an embassy source replied: "I guess." But he gave no other details on the outcome of the hijack.

The aircraft, "carrying some children," did not enter Turkish, Cypriot or Israeli airspace, a Cypriot air traffic control official said.

The Ilyushin-76 is normally used as a freight plane but can also carry passengers, he added.

But an Aeroflot official in Nicosia said the plane was carrying only cargo.

In Moscow, a civil aviation official contacted by telephone said he had no information on the hijacking.

Aviation Officials 'Know Nothing'

NC0212101388 Nicosia Domestic Service in Greek
1000 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Agency reports say that an Aeroflot airliner, which was on a domestic flight, was hijacked by a team of unidentified people who asked the plane's captain to fly to Israel. Officials in Israel have said that the plane has landed somewhere in the Soviet Union and added that there are no reports whether the plane is still under the hijackers' control.

Meanwhile, civil aviation officials in Moscow have stated that they know nothing about the hijacking of an Aeroflot plane. Other reports say that the hijackers took control of the plane while it was on the ground at an airport near Moscow. The identity of the hijackers is not yet known.

Plane Returns to Moscow

NC0212102288 Athens Domestic Service in Greek
1000 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] A Soviet airliner, which took off from Moscow for Israel today, has been hijacked. The plane was compelled to return to the Soviet capital. This was disclosed by Cypriot and Israeli civil aviation sources. We have learned that the plane, which is carrying children, is grounded, a Cypriot official has stated.

Civil aviation head Mikhail Irodhotou has stated that the hijacking took place within Soviet airspace, but that the hijackers' demands remain unknown. The Israeli authorities disclosed that the hijackers want to go to Israel. The Israeli and Soviet air traffic controllers are in direct contact over this case.

Plane Lands in Tel Aviv

LD0212164488 Moscow TASS in English 1637 GMT
2 Dec 88

[Text] London December 2 TASS—The IL-76 plane with five armed hijackers and eight crew members landed at Tel Aviv's Ben Gurion Airport tonight.

According to REUTER news agency, emergency security measures had been taken at the airport before the plane's touchdown.

Anti-terrorist squads, Army and reinforced police units were sent into the airport area.

Spokesman Hopes for 'Retribution'

LD0212163688 Moscow TASS in English 1628 GMT
2 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 2 TASS—A Soviet Civil Aviation Ministry official has expressed the hope that the hijackers of a Soviet plane to Israel will get just retribution.

The ministry spokesman said to a TASS correspondent today that the cargo plane Ilyushin-76, with five terrorists on board, left the airport of Mineralnye Vody, northern Caucasus, at 15:55 Moscow time.

The spokesman recalled that a night before four armed men (the fifth member, a woman, joined them today) commandeered a busload of schoolchildren and a teacher in the North Caucasian city of Ordzhonikidze and demanded they be given a large sum of money and a plane to fly them abroad. They named three countries: Israel, South Africa or Pakistan.

As Ordzhonikidze Airport had no plane large enough for the terrorists, they left together with the hostages for the neighbouring city of Mineralnye Vody which has a big airport.

In order to achieve the release of the children (to which the attackers had not agreed for a long time), authorities took a decision to give the terrorists a plane. The teacher and the bus driver were also set free.

They are all in satisfactory condition now.

The Civil Aviation Ministry spokesman stressed the following detail: throughout the talks between the authorities and the terrorists, all members of the plane crew wore handcuffs in keeping with the terrorists' demand.

"We are seriously worried over the fate of the crew members," the spokesman said. "The terrorists are armed with a sub-machinegun and three pistols, and the pilots are literally in the gunsight since the IL-76, unlike passenger planes, has no partition separating the cockpit from the rest of the plane."

Further on USSR Supreme Soviet Sessions

Resolution on Reform

PM0212140988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Dec 88 Second Edition p 2

["USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution on Further Steps To Implement Political Reform in the Sphere of State Building"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet, having examined the question of measures for implementing the political reform in the field of state construction, resolves:

1. To approve the practical measures being carried out by the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers, in keeping with the decisions of the 19th all-union conference of the CPSU for implementing and deepening restructuring, democratizing Soviet society, transforming the supreme bodies of state power, and ensuring the full powers of the local soviets of people's deputies as the foundations of socialist statehood and people's self-government.

To support the program of radical renewal of the country's political system, expounded in the report at the present session by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is, in the remaining period of powers of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation, to carry out the necessary measures connected with performing the tasks of the first stage of the political reform and with the practical steps in its subsequent stages.

2. Noting the great significance of the election of USSR people's deputies in raising the role of the soviets and public organizations and in democratizing all spheres of state life, to instruct the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the supreme soviets of union and autonomous republics and local soviets of people's deputies to ensure on the basis of the new legislation on elections the necessary conditions for the full use by labor collectives, public organizations, and voters of their rights during the election campaign, for the open and public resolution of all questions related to the nomination of candidate deputies and their registration and related to voting and determining of election results; to extend daily practical help to the electoral commissions in implementing their powers.

3. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers, with the participation of the union republics, should ensure the in-depth study of proposals on the resolution of urgent questions concerning the national-state structure of the USSR being cognizant of further measures to extend the competence of the republics and to remove superfluous centralization in relations between the USSR and the union republics and, at the same time, to retain for the USSR its powers enabling it to ensure the unity of legislative settlement throughout the territory of the USSR of fundamental questions of state, economic, and social-cultural construction, to manage the country's economy as a single national economic complex; to organize the defense of the USSR; to represent it in international relations; and to resolve other questions of general union significance.

4. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Commissions on Legislative Proposals of the chambers are to form a working group of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies who represent all union republics, instructing it to draft proposals, with the participation of scientists and specialists—economists, sociologists, and lawyers—on the delineation of the competences of the union (USSR) and the republics in the interests of the fuller ensuring of their political and socioeconomic interests, the harmonization of interethnic relations, and maximum account for the tasks of the further development of the whole country.

The USSR Council of Ministers is to accelerate the working out of the conditions for the transition to financial autonomy of republics and regions, bearing in

mind the maximum utilization of their capabilities and resources for the resolution of regional, republican, and union-wide tasks.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the presidiums of supreme soviet and councils of ministers of union and autonomous republics are to take additional steps toward local soviets of people's deputies implementing their rights and opportunities in the resolution of all issues of local life, and are to implement the preparation of a draft law on local self-government and the local economy with the active participation of all interested organizations.

To instruct the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to elaborate and adopt provisional regulations on the presidiums and chairmen of local soviets of people's deputies, to enact measures directed at creating the proper conditions for independent work and initiative in the new conditions by the standing commissions of soviets, by groups of deputies, people's deputies, and executive committees. 5. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Commissions of Legislative proposals of the Soviet of the Nationalities, and the USSR Council of Ministers are to carry out intensive work on bills on a broad democratic basis with the participation of the union republics, paying special attention to the preparation of normative acts directed at strengthening the guarantees of restructuring. To step up activities on work on the draft bases of USSR legislation and of union republics on the USSR judicial system, a law on the status of judges of the USSR other draft laws aimed at implementing judicial reform, and other draft laws. To enact urgent measures to improve the training of legal staff and their use in state organs and the national economy.

6. Soviets of people's deputies, their executive and managerial [ispolnitelnyye i rasporyaditelnyye] bodies, ministries, state committees and departments, and heads of other state and public bodies are to examine citizens' suggestions and comments on issues relevant to the sphere of competence of these bodies which came in in the course of the nationwide discussion of the draft USSR Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution, and are to take steps to implement them.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is to thoroughly analyze the suggestions and comments of deputies expressed at the present session concerning issues of economic and social-cultural construction and is to adopt relevant decisions on them.

[Signed] Chairman the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
M. Gorbachev

[Signed] Secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

T. Menteshashvili

[Dated] Moscow, the Kremlin

1 December 1988

Deputies Elections Date Set

LD0112115888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1030 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] The extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet ended today in the Kremlin. At 1200 a joint session of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities started. It was attended by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and other leaders of the Communist Party and the Soviet state.

The discussion of measures to implement political reform in the area of state construction has ended.

First, the floor was given to Comrade Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and chairman of the commission for legislative proposals of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev then made a closing speech.

Deputies, in separate voting of the two chambers, adopted the Law on Amendments and Additions to the Constitution, the Basic Law of the USSR, as well as the Law on Elections of People's Deputies of the USSR. These documents will be published in the press.

The election of people's deputies of the USSR was also discussed. Comrade Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU, commissioned by the CPSU Central Committee, proposed that elections of USSR people's deputies be held Sunday, 26 March 1989, and that the Central Electoral Commission be set up.

Deputies adopted the decision on holding the election of USSR people's deputies and the setting-up of the Central Electoral Commission.

Georgia's Patiashvili Speaks

PM0112153088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Dec 88 Second Edition p 3

[Speech by Deputy D.I. Patiashvili of the Sukhumi Urban Electoral Okrug, Georgian SSR, and Georgian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, delivered at the 29 November afternoon joint session of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers]

[Text] Comrade deputies! The current Supreme Soviet session is examining matters of special political significance, and it is taking place in an extraordinary political atmosphere. An unprecedented stepping up of the activeness of society, intellectual minds, and our young people is taking place, and original opinions and views are being expressed. This was confirmed by the nationwide discussion of the draft laws submitted to the session.

I cannot and will not attempt to hide my agitation, because the keen attention of the whole country, of all the republics, is today fixed on what is happening in this hall. We deputies are to adopt crucial decisions that will determine the future of our society, Soviet statehood, and socialism in general.

We have seen from our own experience that it is incomparably more difficult to govern society by democratic methods than by authoritarian methods. But democratization is the only way to normalize the social atmosphere and overcome the social neuroses of the individual. The creation in the country of the most favorable possible conditions for the full expression of the people's will could not but lead to a certain polarization of opinions. But this consolidates and rallies society's healthy forces all the more closely, as is confirmed by the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet session held the other day, at which the spirit of true internationalism prevailed unanimously.

At the same time, the forms of this expression of will have not always proved acceptable and have sometimes led to undesirable excesses, and we entirely share the concern expressed in this respect at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session. We must acknowledge self-critically that a part was played both by the inadequate preparedness of the organs of management, including party committees in the republic, for work in unusual conditions, and by the lack of democratic traditions. We are learning our lessons and stepping up work among the masses.

The first experience in conditions of democratization and glasnost showed that only on the basis of popular opinion is it possible to hold on to the basic levers by which society is managed and to control the situation. Any haste or carelessness could nullify at a stroke the enormous political gains achieved in the years of restructuring.

The interest and involvement in the session's work are enormous in the republic. There have been demonstrations by many thousands of people in the capital. Today, Mikhail Sergeyevich, at a rally in Tbilisi your warm appeal to the working people of Soviet Georgia and to the Georgian people was read out. It was received with enormous enthusiasm and understanding.

If you set aside unacceptable opinions that are contrary to the country's Fundamental Law, attention was mainly concentrated on problems of the national state structure and the organic combination of federal and republican interests, and in this respect on point 2, Article 108, and point 13, Article 119 of the Draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution.

The reasons for this have their roots deep in national psychology. I would like to give the deputies a few explanations. Throughout the recent centuries the historical goal of the Georgian people and the other peoples of Georgia has been the struggle for survival and the

creation of a unified, integrated state. Coming under Russia's patronage saved the Georgian people from physical extermination. Although demographic problems are traditionally at the center of public attention, Georgia acquired true statehood and sovereignty after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Thus everything that affects this sphere in any way is perceived very sensitively, even oversensitively. You remember from history that Georgian Communists, at the time of the creation of the Soviet federation, were among the first to come out against Stalin's idea of the "autonomization" of nations. And this position of theirs was warmly supported by V.I. Lenin in his last letters.

Real sovereignty is a powerful generator of all-union and all-national energy, a means of overcoming the political alienation of the individual. Therefore, the whole republic unanimously supports our party's post-April course of restructuring. The strengthening of the republic's sovereignty is a substantial barrier in the path of excessive centralization and bureaucratization of power and a very important condition of the deepening of democracy. Even now many examples could be cited of central departments making hasty decisions without even informing the republican organs and labor collectives, of their leaders and even deputy leaders basically issuing instructions to the republican government.

You must realize that it is not a question of ambition. Ultimately we will eliminate—and are eliminating—economic discrepancies in a businesslike way. It is a question of mutual respect and mutual trust. Responsibility is developed through trust, not preaching. This is the only way to reform the work style both centrally and locally. We wholeheartedly approve of the decision to draft documents governing the sovereign rights of union republics and set up a USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee. This will make it possible to improve the form of the rule-of-law state and will strengthen our union still more. After all, together we are a mighty power, a unique community of nations and peoples united by a single aim. And this augments each republic's strength!

At the same time we cannot advance toward the new model of society, toward economically accountable socialism, unless we destroy "bureaucratic centralism" and the omnipotence of the bureaucratic apparatus. Can it be justified for social energy to be wasted on overcoming artificially erected barriers? And what it is costing us to rectify the bureaucrat's errors in the sphere of such permanent all-national values as culture and language!

That is why particular circumspection and caution are required in making any decisions concerning the inter-ethnic sphere, and first and foremost those that touch on sovereignty, because it is hard to stop emotions and passions once they begin to rage.

I think I will be expressing not only the republic's opinion, but that of all the comrades if I emphasize that we are deeply grateful to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the CPSU Central Committee leadership for their attentive, scrupulous attitude toward the proposals and comments made in the course of the discussion of the draft laws. We, the deputies and the broad public, see this as a true manifestation of democracy in action.

New opportunities for deepening the democratization process are opened up by the draft Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies," which merits approval. It seems to me that point 2, Article 108 of the draft law on amendments to the Constitution also meets the general requirements in its present form. Certainly under Article 111 the union republics' interests will be represented more fully in the Soviet of Nationalities by 11 deputies instead of 7.

As for point 13, Article 119, it is very important to add to its new, indisputably improved version—here I am conveying to you the united opinion of the public and the working people in the republic—a formula to the effect that a state of emergency in individual localities is announced by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium at the request or with the consent of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the republic concerned.

True, practical respect for sovereignty is an excellent basis for further strengthening the peoples' friendship and fraternity, molding truly internationalist views, especially among our young people, and cultivating love and respect for national cultures. These things are immutably sacred, and we will not allow provocateurs or instigators of any kind to sow and kindle interethnic discord or bring dissension into our harmonious family. History warns: Any indulgence toward manifestations of nationalism can only lead to national tragedies.

I think that here we should apply the force of the law more fully, and perhaps even make the formulation stricter. If we are to learn our lesson from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's justified reproach at the Presidium session and the Central Committee plenum and really avoid feeling defensive, we must unite our actions still more closely, improve the coordination of our actions, and permit fewer errors and mistakes.

We have entire scientific research and academic institutes and centers studying the problems of literally every continent on the planet, nearly every country in the world from Canada to Guadeloupe, yet there is, unfortunately, no institute studying our unique country, our unique community, our federation, interethnic relations. And therefore one senses a gross shortage of useful scientific recommendations on interethnic problems within the country.

The role and responsibility of our press, especially the central press, and our journalists and writers and all the intelligentsia are enormous. Unfortunately, we sometimes come across ill-considered actions and publications that appear maliciously and deliberately to upset people, encroach on their national sensibilities, and arouse protests and indignation. This has extremely negative consequences and lessens the effectiveness of our efforts. I consider it necessary once again to repeat that a stall in the kolkhoz market must not be regarded as the criterion of interethnic relations, that social and domestic flaws must not be generalized on the basis of nationality, and that the negative features of an individual must not be explained in terms of national character. This is fundamentally untrue! Only in unity and mutual respect do we find our might and our strength!

Comrades! Restructuring literally overturned many customary concepts and ideas. It gave us a glimpse of the face of true democracy. But let us be frank: We are only just grasping the rudiments, only just learning to really assess the true advantages of the freedoms granted to society. The majority of us were raised according to different principles, and it is not so easy to overcome all this at once. But the main thing is that it was the party that started restructuring, and that is why its prestige is so high, because the very possibility of pluralism is an exceptional gain for restructuring.

The draft laws submitted for the session's discussion mark the first stage in improving our society's political system. And this is probably the most crucial stage. It will largely determine the entire subsequent course of restructuring and the conditions for the further consolidation of all social strata, all nations and peoples of our great motherland on a platform of restructuring. Therefore, every one of us must today show special caution and thoughtfulness.

We fully support the Central Committee's line on the radical transformation of our society. This is the greatest mission entrusted to our generation, so let us be worthy of it politically, as citizens, and morally! (applause)

Tajikistan's Pallayev Speaks

PM0112161788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Dec 88 Second Edition p 2

[Speech by Deputy G.P. Pallayev of Vakhshskiy Electoral Okrug, Tajik SSR, (chairman of Tajik Supreme Soviet Presidium) at 29 November afternoon session of USSR Supreme Soviet chambers]

[Text] Comrade deputies! The political transformations whose thrust was clearly and concretely set out in M.S. Gorbachev's report at the present session will be the first stage in the further democratization of our society and the creation of a socialist rule-of-law state and reliable foundations for the activity of the supreme organs of

power. The report summed up the results of the discussion of the draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and the draft Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies, a discussion which was of a truly nationwide character.

This discussion was also wide-ranging in our republic, involving all forms of expression of public opinion and vigorous polemics in the mass media. It is typical that in the course of the discussion of the draft laws various viewpoints were expressed; they were sometimes mutually exclusive but quite well-argued both on individual provisions of the draft laws and also on the overall concept of approaches to changing the USSR Constitution on the whole.

However, despite the difference in opinions, reasoning, and arguments, which is quite natural, you can see one common denominator in the debate that unfolded—working people resolutely support the party course of political reform. The overwhelming majority of the 8,000 or more responses sent to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium from our republic indicate approval of the published documents. Here is the opinion of Deputy B. Suleymanova from Leninabad City Soviet: "The draft laws submitted to trial by public opinion," she said, "are a resolute step away from words to actions. Things said at the 19th party conference are becoming reality."

A multitude of such statements can be cited. But at the same time many amendments and critical remarks were made, some of which, as we can see, have been taken into consideration in the draft laws that have been presented at the session today. Thus, if we are summing up the opinion of the republic's working people, we can draw the following conclusion: The draft laws that have been proposed are concrete steps in restructuring. For the first time every citizen in our country has an opportunity to really influence matters of state.

It is our profound conviction that the proposed draft laws, along with the constructive addenda and changes that have been made to them, will enable us to improve the composition of the soviets and make their structure more perfect. M.S. Gorbachev rightly pointed out that political reform cannot be carried out at one go. It must be implemented in several stages. It is clear from the documents that we have been given that the deputies' commissions and the Legislative Proposals Commissions have worked very earnestly on them and given consideration to the proposals and comments that have been voiced in the course of the nationwide discussion. A number of items in the draft law on introducing changes and addenda to the Constitution which met with objections from some deputies and the people's fronts in some republics were changed and amplified. In particular, it is very important that representatives of each union republic will be members of the new organ—the Constitutional Oversight Committee—which will be a substantial guarantee of observance of each republic's rights. At the same time, in our opinion, there could have

been provision for a union republic to be entitled to appeal to the Constitutional Oversight Committee regarding illegal acts by union state organs.

One more thing. I don't know whether deputies will support me, but the norms of representation for autonomous formations should be adjusted. Article 111 of the draft law says that two deputies from each autonomous oblast and one from each autonomous okrug will be members of the Supreme Soviet, but according to Article 109 of the same draft there will be five deputies from each autonomous oblast and one from each autonomous okrug in the Congress of People's Deputies. Deputies elected to the Congress from social organizations will join them also, but perhaps they won't come forward. Then, one deputy from the autonomous okrug will have to sit on the Supreme Soviet for 5 years. This must be taken into consideration.

Comrade Deputies! We are very concerned by the position and situation in certain republics. It goes without saying that many unresolved and negative problems have accumulated in the sphere of interethnic relations. In conditions of the administrative-edict system, our federation was exposed to various kinds of deformations, such as excessive centralization, insufficient accounting, and complete disregard for the republics' interests and ethnic features, including demographic features. The problem of environmental protection is acute. But we think that a way out of the prevailing difficulties must be sought not through separatism but through strengthening the USSR while broadening the rights of the union republics. Otherwise we may only weaken the unity of the Soviet peoples, separate them into ethnic compartments, and undermine the single economic complex.

And it has taken decades to take shape, being molded by the USSR's natural climatic conditions, zones, and oblasts. Thus, the young Land of the Soviets' self-sufficiency in cotton was in many respects ensured by the intensive development of this sector in Central Asia. Today Tajikistan produces more than 960,000 tonnes of raw cotton. However, only 9 percent of the fibers are processed in the republic's enterprises and the rest is delivered to the country's other regions.

At the same time, within the framework of the territorial division of labor we obtain machines, equipment, and consumer goods from fraternal republics. Therefore, can we smash the prevailing interrepublic specialization?

Comrades! This is a unique moment in that the time has come to set about the practical questions of restructuring more intensely and to shift the center of gravity from debate, dispute, and "soapbox democratism" to the resolution of concrete socioeconomic tasks.

I must say that there are urgent problems in our republic. We were rightly criticized in a recent CPSU Central Committee letter. Production of meat, milk, and certain

other agricultural output is indeed growing slowly. We are still making poor use of the existing reserves. We are effecting the introduction of progressive economic relations insufficiently rapidly.

The new changes in the political structure of the state organs and the party course of ensuring sovereignty for the soviets are making it possible for them to better resolve economic tasks. A seminar held by the CPSU Central Committee in the city of Orel and Orel's experience of organizational and political work in party and soviet organs are making it possible to look at a great deal in a new way. Above all the problem of reviving villages. In the fifties we had almost 6,500 villages; now that number has halved. The point is that people have moved from the mountains to the valleys once again, owing to the fact that the country's self-sufficiency in cotton had to be ensured. The abandoned villages fell into neglect, orchards reverted to the wild, and fields turned into pastures. We are now consistently examining the question of restoring most of them without damaging the valley rayons. This process has begun in some areas. We are convinced that the revival of the abandoned villages is a powerful reserve for resolving the Food Program. The experience of the people of Orel convinces us even further that this matter deserves a great deal of consideration. Naturally, we will have to think about where to channel capital investments first in order to obtain a rapid high return and also to resolve the problem of using excess manpower resources.

In conclusion I would like to say that having examined the course of the discussion of the draft Laws on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and on Elections of USSR People's Deputies, the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has acknowledged that they correspond on the whole with the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference and accord with the tasks of the first phase of the political reform. (applause).

Gorbunov Speech Published

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[Speech by A.V. Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, delivered at 29 November afternoon joint session of USSR Supreme Soviet chambers]

[Text] Comrade deputies! Today we are discussing drafts of laws which will greatly determine the course and thrust of restructuring for many years to come. If we are to judge them objectively, in my opinion, each of us must find answers to at least three questions. First: What potential do these laws have for implementing the political course of developing democracy and self-management? Second: How can the real sovereignty of union republics be asserted and the harmonious development of the USSR be ensured? And third: How can the slogan "All power to the soviets!" be put into practice?

The answers to those and other questions raised by the draft laws have been sought in the Latvian SSR, too. Initially there was a destructive attitude in the republic: People began rejecting the drafts without offering alternatives. The Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium received 13,875 letters and resolutions signed by 720,000 citizens. In the prevailing situation the republic's supreme soviet presidium saw the preparation of amendments to improve the two draft laws as the only alternative to this destructive approach.

Much work was done. The amendments and suggestions received full backing at a session of the republic's Supreme Soviet. Furthermore, the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet considers the refinement of the two drafts in the light of our proposals to be a necessary condition for the democratization of these most important acts. My duty, as the person who chaired the republic supreme soviet session, is to convey the essence of those amendments with certain comments to you, esteemed comrade deputies.

Last year's elections provided the first experience of the switch from elections as a form of approval of party policy to elections as a form of popular participation in the selection of candidate deputies. The people's desire to participate actively in politics appeared right away in Latvia. Apart from some experimental multi-seat electoral okrugs, 74 of the country's 83 electoral okrugs where several candidates contest a single seat were to be found in our republic.

Many of the provisions in the draft laws under discussion today help to establish the principles of self-management in the Soviet electoral system: the election of a people's deputy from a choice of several candidates in all cases, the incompatibility of the status of deputy with certain leading posts in other organs, a ban on officials elected or appointed by soviets of people's deputies from holding office for more than two consecutive terms, and so forth. At the same time, certain provisions in the two draft laws do not meet the task of developing the socialist self-management of the people.

Yes, it is necessary to utilize the great wealth of experience of social organizations and to reflect the specific interests of their members in the activity of the paramount representative organ, the Supreme Soviet. But what is the best way to do that? It is necessary to be guided by the three democratic election principles enshrined in the current Soviet Constitution: universal, equal, and direct suffrage. Does the nomination and election of deputies at plenums of their central organs meet those principles? Of course not! Unfortunately, during the discussion of the drafts we have not heard from the leaders of the all-union organs of those social organizations a clear answer to the question of what they intend to do to ensure that the nomination of candidates and the election of deputies from social organizations is democratic. The first exemplary model that we heard

was in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's report at the session. Unfortunately, Comrades Pukhova and Mironenko sought to avoid this question in their speeches here.

A genuine choice is possible only if the voter has at least a general idea of the candidate's program and personal qualities. But how will a citizen know which candidate to choose if he is merely passing through a particular place and casts his vote at a polling station set up at a station or airport?

We propose the complete abolition of voting cards. After all, look at the moral harm that those cards caused in the past when they were used to achieve the four "nines"—99.99 percent participation in a vote.

Another question is how the federation's supreme power should be organized and should function so as to safeguard the union republics' sovereign rights within the USSR. Primarily this is a question of the representation of the union republics. We know that small republics, such as ours, will be represented in the USSR Supreme Soviet of Nationalities by 11 deputies. But how will the union republics be represented in the Soviet of the Union—the draft makes absolutely no mention of that. This is bewildering. It should be plainly and categorically written into the Law on Amendments to the USSR Constitution: "The representation of a union republic in the Soviet of the Union is in proportion to the size of the republic's population." The standing commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers and committees as well as the Central Electoral Commission should be formed on the bases of the representation of all the union republics.

I would like to speak about another question which worries us a great deal—the sovereignty of the soviets. The drafts clearly reflect the 19th party conference's guideline on the separation of legislative and executive powers. But the question that immediately arises is: How will local soviets exercise this power of theirs in practice? I shall quote a simple example but one of vital importance to the republic. Many people who visit Yurmala or vacation there ask us in amazement: How could you have let the Gulf of Riga's amber coast be ruined? As is well known, bathing in the sea is banned because of the unfavorable bacteriological situation. Thus Yurmala's famous beach no longer exists.

This is the way we live. The country, including Latvia, needs paper. The Slokskiy pulp and paper combine is situated in the Yurmala region. But in its production costs the union ministry, of course, has no plans to cover the expense of cleaning up the gulf, even less to pay compensation for the losses caused because hundreds or thousands of people cannot undergo treatment in Yurmala. Of course, that is not the only combine that is poisoning the Gulf of Riga. Riga also discharges its sewage untreated.

You will ask: Why have sewage treatment facilities still not been built? Well, because under the USSR Council of Ministers' resolutions we must build new industrial enterprises and modernize existing ones. If we did not consistently fulfill those resolutions we would not only not have the capacities to build the treatment plants, there wouldn't be enough left for housing, kindergartens, and schools. For instance, according to USSR Council of Ministers' resolutions we must spend over R200 million in industrial construction in the immediate future, which will take up two-thirds of the republic Ministry of Construction's capacities. Everything is absorbed by the extensive development of industry, for which we have neither the raw materials nor the spare manpower.

Esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich! Your joke in Krasnoyarsk could well be applied to us: "How well did you fight if you don't have a single 'casualty'?"

Unless we stipulate in the drafts under discussion the conditions of the soviets' struggle against the departments, there soon will be casualties. Not only in Latvia but in other union republics, too. First and foremost they will be local soviet workers and not those ministry workers who represent narrow departmental interests as the interests of the state at large without a thought for the environment or the social development of territories. Why should they, when these things are always the responsibility of the soviets?

Another extreme is possible. If the law does not give local soviets an effective weapon in the struggle against the clearly inexpedient and sometimes even harmful decisions of central departments, then the inability to defend legitimate interests by legal means will encourage the Soviets to opt for self-rule [samoupravstvo] and local self-interest. The status of the rule-of-law state that we are seeking allows neither one nor the other. Therefore, we propose that the right of union republic Supreme Soviets to appeal against USSR Council of Ministers' resolutions as well as union ministry and department acts which are contrary to the Constitution and the laws of the union republic or which are counter to the vital interests of the majority of its inhabitants, be embodied in the the USSR Constitution.

To ensure the real sovereignty of the soviets we also propose that Article 93 of the Law on Amendments to the USSR Constitution be augmented by the following: "All economic and sociocultural activity on a given territory is conducted with the consent of the Soviets of People's Deputies."

Because of a lack of time I cannot dwell on all the suggestions and amendments which the republic's supreme soviet has submitted. Working groups of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium listened to us attentively and gave us their approval. However, we failed to find many of our amendments in the drafts under discussion today. Therefore, we would ask the editorial commission of our session and the Legislative Proposals

Commission to return to them. After all, these amendments were submitted on behalf of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet session. Of course, we do not claim that they represent the ultimate truth.

Comrade deputies! The switch from the theoretical consideration to the practical stage of restructuring is indeed complex and responsible. This process is taking place in a complex political situation in the republic. Economic and social problems unfortunately often develop into interethnic ones. We are trying to impart new content, first and foremost mutual respect and concern for all the peoples of Latvia, to the concept of internationalism, which has been devalued in the past. "Latvia—Our Common Home"—that is the name we have given to the forum of the Latvian peoples, which we are now preparing. But we are aware of another factor: The republic's interests must be united with the interests of the USSR.

Anything which does not strengthen the union does not strengthen the individual republics either. And vice versa. Let us be guided by this principle everywhere—both centrally and locally.

Razumovskiy 1 Dec Speech

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[Speech by Razumovskiy, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and chairman of the Legislative Proposals Commission of the Soviet of the Union, given at the USSR Supreme Soviet extraordinary session in the Grand Kremlin Palace 1 December; "Ways To Renew the Political System: Speech by G.P. Razumovskiy"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies. On the instruction of the the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Legislative Proposals Commissions have considered the proposals and remarks made by deputies at this session on the Bills on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and on the Election of People's Deputies of the USSR. The results of the consideration have been reported to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which supported the conclusions drawn by the commissions.

First of all, I would like to stress that all of the deputies' proposals—and as you know, 37 people spoke—were permeated with a desire to render individual provisions of the draft laws more precise and clear so that they would reflect more fully the interests of the people and the ideas of the 19th all-union party conference.

The commissions consider it possible to agree with a whole series of amendments and additions.

Permit me to report the collectively drafted opinion concerning deputies' specific proposals:

In Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's report and in the speeches by some deputies, questions were raised on the work of deputies in the new USSR Supreme Soviet. Wishes were expressed to take better consideration of the professional interests of deputies, who will combine their duties as members of the USSR Supreme Soviet with work in labor collectives. Therefore, in Part 2 of Article 124 of the Bill on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution, it is proposed to note that people's deputies elected to the USSR Supreme Soviet are not necessarily released as was previously stated, but may be released from the performance of their official or production duties for the whole of their term in the USSR Supreme Soviet. The future Supreme Soviet will decide how many deputies will be released, possibly all or possibly only some of them.

As you know, many deputies dealt with questions of ensuring the sovereignty of the union republics and expanding their rights. Thus, Deputies Shevchenko and Pallayev [not further identified] posed the question of ensuring a union republic's right to appeal to the USSR Constitutional Supervision Committee over violations of the republic's powers by departmental acts. This proposal could have been taken into consideration in Points 2 and 4 of Article 125 of the draft constitution by including the supreme bodies of state power of the union republics in the list of organizations possessing the prerogative to appeal to the Constitutional Supervision Committee. At the same time, in article 114, the Constitutional Supervision Committee itself is endowed with the right of legislative initiative.

Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, posed a question on taking into account interests of Union Republics in the formation of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet. In this connection it is proposed to formulate the second phrase of part 4 of Article 111 as follows: "The Soviet of the Union is elected from among the people's deputies of the USSR from territorial constituencies and USSR people's deputies from social organizations, taking into account the number of electors of the union republic or the region."

Taking into account Deputy Patiashvili's request, the draft of Point 13 of Article 119 of the USSR Constitution is changed to read as follows: "The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in the interests of protecting the USSR and the security of its citizens, declares martial law or a state of emergency for the entire country and in individual locations with compulsory examination of the given question with the relevant union republic's supreme soviet presidium. It can introduce, in the above cases, special forms of administration carried out by state organs of the USSR and of union republics."

Deputies Mesyats and Koptuyg [not further identified] tabled proposals on giving soviets of people's deputies the right to carry out regional referendums on questions relevant to their sphere of powers. This proposal corresponds to the interests of the development of socialist

democracy, thus it is proposed to set out Part One of Article 91 as follows: "Major questions of all-union, republic, and local importance are resolved at sessions of congresses of people's deputies, sessions of supreme soviets and local soviets, or are put by them to a referendum."

Among proposals the commission considers expedient to be supported is the addendum to Article 91 directing that "any official can be released from his post before the appointed time in cases of improper fulfillment of his duties."

A number of comrades have expressed the view that electors have to vote where they live. In this connection, it has been proposed that voting authorization be abandoned. You understand, the disenfranchisement of citizens temporarily living outside their permanent place of residence would in fact deprive many thousands of people of their right to vote; they would be undeservedly badly treated. At the same time, commissions would consider it possible to agree with the proposal that voting not be carried out at large railway and bus stations, in airports, sea and river ports, hotels, or trains, as such voting is indeed of a formal character.

In this connection, Articles 19, 20, and 52 of the Law on the Elections of the USSR People's Deputies are being rendered more precise. Some deputies' proposals have already been reflected in the amendments which the commission earlier introduced in to the texts of the drafts. Thus, Deputy Fadeyev's proposal to extend a right to set up constituency electoral commissions not only to the soviets, but to their presidia, has been taken into account in the amendments to Articles 24, 26, and others of the Bill on the Elections of the USSR People's Deputies.

Deputy Yefremov's proposal to expand the composition of the USSR Constitutional Supervision Committee has been implemented in the amendments to Article 125 of the USSR's Constitution. Deputy Zhirnov emphasized how important it is to invigorate the primary structures of public organizations and to enhance their influence on the selection and nomination of candidates. This has been taken into account in the new edition of Article 100 of the draft constitution. Deputy Tatliyev regards it as essential that Article 94 of the USSR's Constitution should reflect the demand that the decisions of higher level soviets should be binding on the lower level soviets. This principle has been enshrined in Article 3 of the Constitution which is currently in force. As for Deputy Zhilovskiy's proposal that the bills should be submitted to nationwide discussion, this has been provided for in Article 5 of the current USSR Constitution.

Deputy Khabibullin's proposal regarding elections of officials by people's deputies on condition that they cease their official workplace functions has been taken into consideration in the amendments to Article 40 of the Bill on the Elections of USSR People's Deputies.

Deputies Kazakov, Masaliyev, and Fadeyev's proposals that USSR people's deputies should be elected by a relative majority of votes has been partly taken into account, since the results of elections in the second voting are arrived at precisely in this way. Many deputies who spoke during the session proposed some or other amendments outside the scope of the bills under examination. In the view of the commissions, these proposals, a majority of which are of clearly expressed and constructive, can and should be taken account of in the further law-making work both of the USSR and the union republics.

Deputies Astrauskas, Zhumakanov, Prokopyev, Popov, Danilchenko, Kostenyuk and others have raised the issue of restoring real sovereignty [polnovlastiye] to local soviets. What has been spoken of in particular is that economic and sociocultural activities in the relevant territories should be implemented with the consent of the soviet.

It has been proposed that the functions of local organs of power be expanded, that the role of village soviets be amplified, and that work with electors' mandates be improved. The commissions consider that these and similar suggestions deserve close attention and support. In fact, all of this is confirmed again by the provisions of the report. The matter of preparing the USSR law on local self-government and the local economy must not be drawn out.

Comrade Gorbunov has spoken of the expediency of giving union republics the right to lodge protests against acts of the USSR Council of Ministers and of union ministries and departments which go against the constitution and the laws of the republics. This suggestion has partially been taken into account in Article 125, as has already been said. On the whole, it ought to be examined together with other problems connected with expanding the rights of union republics.

Deputies Mavlikov, Otke, Prokopyev, Pallayev, and Khabibullin have raised a number of issues concerning the representation of autonomous entities [avtonomiya] in the USSR's supreme organ of power of the USSR and also of the legal status of autonomous formations [avtonomnoye obrazovaniye]. It is thought that these important issues, as has been agreed on at the session, should be painstakingly analyzed in the overall set of the problems of our national state structure.

Deputies Pukhova, Mavlikov, Masaliyev, Mironenko, and others have raised a number of issues concerning the organization and work of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the deputies' organs which they form. The concern about full democratism and effectiveness of state power at the centre is understandable and well founded. The chief guarantees for this are inherent in the changes and additions to the

USSR Constitution, but the deputies and the commissions consider this justified and have stressed the necessity of strengthening these guarantees. In our opinion, many proposals on this score might be registered in the regulations of the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet and in the legislative acts on the committees of the Supreme Soviet and commissions of the chambers on the status of USSR people's deputies, on the recall of the USSR people's deputy, and elsewhere.

I would also like to dwell on issues on which different and sometimes opposing points of view have been expressed.

Certain deputies cast doubt on the expediency of direct representation of public organizations in the congresses of people's deputies. At the same time, Deputies Lavrov, Shevchenko, Mironenko, Turysov, Popov, Bobovikov, and a number of others stressed that representation of territorial constituencies and of public organizations will widen the potential of the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet and will make it possible both to correctly express the diversity of social interests and to reach agreements. These words reflect the view of the majority of deputies, and the commissions are in full agreement with this view.

Deputy Ryuytel proposed that the supreme soviet be retained in Estonia as the supreme body of state power and that a congress of people's deputies should not be created. This is not a local issue. The common nature of the fundamental bases of the structure of the supreme bodies of state power is an essential guarantee of the unity of the soviets, a guarantee of the stability of our entire union. Naturally, it is matter for the republic itself to determine specifically the competence of the republic's congress of people's deputies, and this, incidentally, is taken into account in the amendments to the draft constitution.

Deputy Masaliyev thinks that the Congress of People's Deputies should retain the right to repeal union and autonomous republics legislative acts, should they not accord with the USSR Constitution, as was provided for in the initial version of the bill. The commissions have considered this issue and think that Article 74 of the existing USSR Constitution provides sufficiently for the predominance of USSR laws on the territory of the country.

Deputy Khabibullin said that it would hardly be expedient to give part of the electorate the right to several votes, having in mind members of elective bodies of public organizations. This is a matter of various approaches, of various means of election. In one instance the citizen is a voter, in another he expresses the will of the members of his public organization and casts a vote. That is set down in the bill. Deputies also expressed other proposals. They have all been carefully considered. The commissions have not restricted themselves to discussion of only those proposals which were expressed at the present

session. In the course of the session, deputies Afanasyev, Grineva, Zagrebelnyy, Zemchenkov, Zitmanis, Liyv, Logunov, Maslova, Pochechuyev, Sokolov, Shcheglova, and Fomicheva conveyed the remarks of the electorate, work collectives, and independent social associations concerning the bills. All these have also been considered attentively and a considerable proportion of these proposals are, to some degree, taken into account in amendments to the bills.

Comrades! A question on which I have been instructed to report to you was raised at the final session of the Legislative Proposals Commissions. Article 37 of the bill on electing USSR people's deputies previously said that, as a rule, nominated candidate deputies would be citizens working or residing in the constituencies. The words as a rule have now been removed from this article. A number of deputies perceived in this a restriction upon voters' possibilities to decide for themselves whom they would like to see as their deputy. Deputy Ambursumyan, in particular, cited the example that over many convocations, the well-known military chief Marshal Bagramyan, who has lived continuously in Moscow, has been elected a deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet from Armenia. Do we need to create obstacles in the law to such exceptions if they truly reflect the stated will of the voters? The commissions unanimously came out in favor of preserving the original text of this article. In consideration of this it will be necessary to more precisely render part 4 of Article 111.

Comrades, these are the considerations which I have been instructed to report to you. The Legislative Proposals Commissions submit for your consideration the proposal which has been approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium that the Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and the Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies be adopted, taking into account the amendments which have been made to them. (applause)

Estonia's Beekman Speaks

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1700 GMT 1 Dec 88*

[From the "Echo of the Day" program; interview with Estonian Deputy Vladimir Beekman by correspondent Juhan Virkus shortly after the USSR Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 1 December—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Virkus] Vladimir Beekman, now that the extraordinary USSR Supreme Soviet session has ended, what happened during the voting procedure?

[Beekman] The draft laws were voted on as a whole and not (?piecemeal). This was perhaps justified by the fact that certain amendments were added to them within the last 24 hours. What I mean is that if 26 out of our 52 proposals were included before, then another 13 amendments have now been added—some of them fairly essential.

For example, there is a provision in the law which specifies the procedures for announcing a special situation either in the whole of the union or in certain territories. This has now been completely reworded: It now says this will take place with the agreement of the Presidium of the supreme soviets of union republics—I mean, after they have discussed it. [words indistinct] This is what we have wanted for a long time: to be able to decide for ourselves. This was introduced, and it is a very, very favorable amendment.

There were others too. We know now, from being on the spot and from the report by [name indistinct], that the drafting commission met during the evening and took into account the proposal which we decided on here during the course of the talks. Quite a few amendments were made. So there were a fair number of amendments, and one must admit that the draft law which was put to the vote differed fairly considerably from the one which was published for popular discussion.

[Virkus] So, the discussion had a positive influence, (is that so)?

[Beekman] I would even dare say that it went beyond our expectations. In general, such discussions have not carried much weight, but this time many amendments were passed. One could of course argue whether or not they were the very best amendments; perhaps one could have done even better, but in any case (something has been achieved).

[Virkus] The people's deputies...[changes thought] unanimously, was it by the way? It would be interesting to know.

[Beekman] No, not unanimously. [passage omitted]

[Virkus] The (?radicals) at home demand, or rather, demanded that if we are not satisfied [word indistinct].

[Beekman] Right to veto, yes. That is the same article exactly—the (?Zermakulme) amendment was indeed about this—because in essence it meant the right to veto, to veto by groups and to demand consensus—that is the right to vote, in other words. [sentence as heard] But this did not receive majority support. The majority of the auditorium did not go along with it.

[Virkus] Now that we are starting to analyze these 2 working days, or rather three already, the third was in essence a day of adoption. What exactly took place here in Moscow?

[Beekman] A long discussion took place; partly businesslike, partly not so businesslike, and at certain points, not at all businesslike—like most large-scale discussions in chambers like that. Yesterday, the Deputies' Working Group also held a meeting, and so did the Drafting Commission, which added final amendments. So there was plenty going on here. Besides, there were all kinds of

other discussions and proposals, and our man Valeri Riis also went there with some proposals to add. All of them were processed very quickly, within ½ day and a night.

[Virkus] You have now been a deputy for a long time, and you have (?sat) and seen and heard how things work. Was this discussion any different from the others?

[Beekman] If it was, then very little indeed. Things do not change as quickly (?as we would wish). And it seems to me that this convocation, in its present composition, is not really capable of much change any more. It has exhausted its resources, and it is time for it to go and rest.

[Virkus] (?Evidently) in Moscow, at the Supreme Soviet Presidium session and afterwards at the CPSU Central Committee plenum, essential resolutions were adopted. First, point No 2 of the Presidium and point No 4 of the plenum which oblige legislative acts to be worked out to ensure the sovereignty of the union republics—what is your opinion on this?

[Beekman] I think that these are perhaps the greatest achievements we have accomplished over the whole period of the session, over this whole period, in our favor. It means that a firm promise has been given to address those burning issues that concern us in the further course of political reform, and to seek solutions; to find a system of measures and state guarantees which would help promote the interests of republics and which would uphold their sovereign rights. This is what we have been fighting for all the time. I think that if this is carried out—and I have no reason to doubt that the general secretary firmly wishes to carry it out—well, then obviously favorable moves are to be expected.

[Virkus] Those days which are filled with criticism of Estonia's address have still borne specific fruit, haven't they?

[Beekman] Well, yes. Those days were certainly full of criticism, but we must already accept this criticism with certain reservations, because in my opinion, many people showed that they cannot understand us at all. There is not just a geographical continent between us, but an even bigger mental continent. Obviously, reactions are bound to be very different. We cannot hope that representatives from Central Asia will come along with us instantly and that their hearts will ache for the same problems. No, their preoccupations are quite different. So it also proves that we are very diverse and diverging, and that we must work for a long time so that others will begin to understand us. However, the fact that one receives a few bruises at the start, well, it's only natural.

[Virkus] Should one be patient?

[Beekman] We can't do anything else. Indeed, we must display Estonian stubbornness and patience, and hope that we have enough of it.

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[Speech delivered to the 1 December joint session of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers by CPSU Central Committee and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium representative in the NKAO Arkadiy Volskiy; "Ways of Renewing the Political System: Speech by A.I. Volskiy"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, regarding the question by a group of deputies from the Armenian SSR about the situation in NKAO and around it, I, as the representative of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in NKAO, have been entrusted to tell you the following:

First, about the situation in NKAO itself.

During the 4 months of our stay right on the spot, as you can imagine, we managed to get to the bottom of many problems, to understand their complexity, abundance, interaction, their historical origins, how they affect the present, and the need to plan future work taking all this into account.

I must note that the economy of this region has been extremely neglected, especially in the social sphere, such as satisfying people's immediate housing requirements, water and power supplies, the provision of medicines and food. Those people who brought this mountain region—where good and hard-working people live—to such a state, will not be forgiven.

The first steps have now been taken to carry out the decisions on Nagorno-Karabakh passed by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers. This has helped to stimulate a few neglected areas of socioeconomic development. The estrangement [otstrannennost] and artificial alienation of the Armenian section of the population from Armenia in the sphere of language, culture, and education have started to be overcome. And there is already hope that what has been a repeated cause for grievances and dissatisfaction will gradually disappear from the life of the Karabakh people.

I am not exaggerating when I say, comrades, that in any other region of the country, such measures would be received and appreciated with gratitude and would help take the heat out of many issues. However, so far, this has not happened in the NKAO. Many sections of the population have found themselves drawn into the struggle to separate [otsoyedineniye] the oblast from Azerbaijan to such an extent that emotions have suppressed reason. Lengthy strikes started. Passions were continuously being whipped up both by official and unofficial leaders. In this atmosphere the socioeconomic measures were devalued in many respects. In September the situation became so aggravated that interethnic clashes

broke out. Things developed to direct skirmish between people using weapons, as well as to robberies, pogroms, and arson. Only the timely imposition of the special situation made it possible to completely avert the escalation of violence but, so far it has not radically changed the general atmosphere.

Now about the situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia. I will tell you outright that it has recently become openly threatening. Why?

The primary cause, of course, lies not only in the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh. The origins of the present crisis lie first of all in the very gross distortions of the nationalities policy which was implemented by the previous republican leadership. Confronting each other today are essentially generations, many representatives of which have started interpreting words about friendship between the two peoples almost as hypocrisy. And herein lies the root of the drama of the situation.

The latest events have shown particularly graphically that many levers of power remain in the hands of various clans in Azerbaijan and Armenia. The cadres educated and assigned by them are continuing to influence the general atmosphere and are bringing influence to bear behind the scenes on the adoption of many decisions. One is inevitably drawn to the following conclusion: For them Nagorno-Karabakh is only a convenient occasion, figuratively speaking, small change. In both republics we are seeing the growing role of people who bear malice and who are corrupt, like Manucharov, who was arrested in Nagorno-Karabakh the other day for bribes running into many thousands of roubles. And some party and local Soviet bodies, unfortunately, are playing up to them and in some places they are conceding the initiative and are surrendering positions of principle. Therefore there are grounds for saying that a greater boost must be given immediately to the purifying processes.

If one analyzes from this standpoint the speeches by certain party and economic managers, scientists and personalities in the arts and culture in both republics on television and in the press, then no practical steps were taken toward one another, and there was no coordinated action; nor, evidently, was there any great desire for this. Such a position cannot be interpreted other than as a mutual boycott and a torpedoing of the course aimed at normalizing the situation. On the contrary, any pretext has been used to fan the conflict. Cock-and-bull stories are being spread around and all kinds of insinuations are being published. They are frequently being raised to a national level and are being interpreted as an attempt on the republics; honor and dignity, and are being discussed at meetings attended by thousands.

The question inevitably arises to the deputies present here and the esteemed people from Azerbaijan and Armenia, why did none of you say before it was too late: People, where are you going? Stop and think. Some party

committees and executive committees of soviets of people's deputies in both republics did not raise a finger to stifle passions at the outset. On the contrary, some people encouraged the activities which were openly provocative.

No fundamental rebuff has been given to the nationalistic demagogues who are stating their readiness, I quote: "To go to the end," to take an "eye for an eye", and to provoke clashes from the other side. They do not stop to think where such a path will lead, what it will cost and how much blood will be spilt.

As recent events show, prudence is more and more frequently deserting such "leaders", and an attempt is being made to replace the democratic forms of social behavior with an outburst of uncontrolled activity. Some groups are trying to pass off their own opinion as the only correct one, to impose it on society, frequently in the form of an ultimatum.

This immediately and inevitably attracts mutual enmity. And, unfortunately, matters are not just limited to words being thrown into the cauldron of interethnic relations. Overcome by bitterness, people are going out on to the streets. Both republics are literally seething. People have been killed and injured. The mutual flow of refugees is already being counted in thousands. In Azerbaijan there was an attack on the bodies of law and order. Some administrative buildings and militia departments were destroyed, and many enterprises are not working.

As you know, a week ago, in the city of Baku and in a number of other regions and towns in Azerbaijan, as well as in Yerevan, a special situation was imposed and a curfew established, which in the first instance helped to protect the lives of people.

When the law is infringed, when blood is being spilt, the state cannot stand aside.

Before we left for the session we were watching the television broadcasts of an essentially anti-Armenian meeting which was held in Baku over the past few days. To say that it created an onerous impression is not even a half-truth. It was a ghastly spectacle which insults our world outlook.

The situation in Armenia is no better. There are pogroms and massacres here too. Azerbaijani families have been forced to leave their homes. Interethnic dissent is building up intensely. The "Karabakh" Committee, which was earlier dissolved, is trying at all costs to take root in the political structure and to create preconditions to win legalization, in the form of power.

The worst thing is the fact that children—our future—are being thrown onto the altar of nationalism in the republics. They are being drawn into meetings, campaigns of protest, and disobedience, and are becoming the target of chauvinist homilies. And all this is being camouflaged by national ideals. This is more than blasphemy.

Dostoyevskiy wrote: No abstract ideas or principles imposed on people are worth the tears of one child.

I cannot pass by, either, the blatantly irresponsible behavior of the mass media, both in Azerbaijan and Armenia. For example, this is the kind of assessment of the events in Baku which has been broadcast by Armenian television. I quote: "These rallies showed the whole core, the whole psychology of the Azerbaijanis. There is nothing in their hearts but brutality and murder." Surely that's not the way to talk about people as a whole. The activity of Baku television can only be described as political blindness at the very least.

The last few days here have passed in the same way. Threats and insults against the Armenians have been flowing in a continuous torrent from the screen. They stop at nothing.

It is worth noting that both sides are using practically the same words to accuse the central mass media of unobjective reporting of the situation in the republics. Of course, it is difficult to write about what has been happening today. Any position gives rise to criticism, if not from one side, then from the other. That's why the maximum consideration and thought is needed. From that point of view, brief swoops by journalists to the region and hasty judgments about each and everything, without even listening to the other side, give grounds for serious reprimands against them. The most experienced, world-wise people have to settle here for a long time.

We came to work in Nagorno-Karabakh openly honestly, and frankly. We have no prejudices toward either side.

There is no indifference and apathy to the human destinies of the population of this area. We aspire by our every step and action to uphold the interests of people, the interests of our entire country. This is the instruction which the party Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium gave to us, these are my personal convictions as a Communist and a citizen.

I am sure that today it is possible to check the negative processes which are going on in the region. There are plenty of honest people, Communists and nonparty people, veterans and young people, in both republics. A certain positive change has been noted now. There are healthy forces there. Deceived people are also beginning to come to see where the truth exists and where there is demagoguery and lies. A breakthrough is bound to come.

But for this to happen we must resolutely and with principle break this permissiveness and passiveness, and not be cunning and not tolerate ideological hypocrisy.

Recently, a group of deputies from the USSR Supreme Soviet, a group of members of the Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities on the issue of Interethnic relations, headed by Comrade Voss, which was formed by the Supreme Soviet Presidium, visited NKAO. Numerous meetings and conversations took place with party and Soviet activists, with chairmen of workforce councils, workers, the creative intelligentsia, veterans, and representatives of all strata of the Azerbaijanian and Armenian population in NKAO and likewise in Baku and Yerevan.

The comrades are now finishing off the preparation of proposals on a way out of the situation which has arisen, and will present them to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium for examination as they become ready. Of course, the members of the commissions have various opinions. However, one can be assured that these proposals will be directed toward preventing the escalation of violence and toward peace in our common home. We too have elaborated a number of measures to restore peace and good in the region, which we are presenting to the Supreme Soviet Presidium.

We appeal to the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia: Today it is necessary to stop and think, to brush oneself down, to get rid of nationalist stress, to recall how Ovanes Tumanyan went round the villages with the banner of peace and friendship, to recall the instruction of Samed Vurgun that both Armenians and Azerbaijanians have historically lived, are living, and will live in peace and harmony; not in isolation, not in division, not in confrontation with each other, but in mutual toleration and respect for each others interests, wanting to meet each other halfway. This is, after all, the most important thing for all of our multinational homeland.

[Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1530 GMT on 1 December in a similar report from its "Vremya" newcast adds: "Comrade deputies! Permit me to bring to your attention the fact that today, after the session ends party and government leaders will meet members of the CPSU Central Committee and all Supreme Soviet deputies from the Azerbaijani and Armenian Republics. Representatives of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast will take part in the meeting. The aim of the meeting is to elaborate measures to stabilize the situation in that region.

Thank you for your attention."

Gorbachev Closing Speech Published
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["M.S. Gorbachev's Concluding Speech"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Comrade deputies, the extraordinary 12th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which has been convened to decide on matters of crucial significance to the Soviet

people, is ending its work. The adoption of the bill will give the green light to the radical transformations of the political system, which were determined by the decisions of the 19th party conference and which our country needs. The discussion of the bill in the USSR Supreme Soviet has been a big and important political conversation, the like of which we have not heard within these walls, at sessions of the country's supreme organ of power, for a long time. Concluding the nationwide discussion on changes in the Constitution and a new electoral system, deputies, while making specific remarks, clearly expressed their attitude to the very idea of political reform and to the ways of practically implementing it.

In this sense, the overall result of the session's work is unambiguous. The time for reform has come, and it should be implemented without delay. It is very important that our discussion has turned into a much wider and more engaged conversation on the destinies of restructuring, prospects for the changes that are being implemented in the economy and other spheres of public life. The thoughts that were expressed in this connection will become a good basis for the country's reorganized supreme organs of power to start their work.

Party organs, our public organizations, and leading cadres will find many useful things in what the deputies had to say. Speaking from this rostrum, I would like to draw their attention to what the deputies said here. There is a lot of food for thought in those speeches about how we should run affairs at this stage of restructuring.

Among the great variety of issues that have been raised here, three subjects were the most prominent. First, social and economic problems of the development of the country in general and of its individual regions and the improvement of the working people's living conditions. Deputies justly link the solution of those urgent problems with the deepening of restructuring, the use of the opportunities revealed by the transfer of enterprises to financial autonomy and self-financing, the development of cooperation, the liberation of people's initiative and enterprise, and with the broad introduction of lease relations in the national economy and above all in the countryside. And all this was indissolubly linked with political reform, with democratization and glasnost, with the opening up of the creative potential of all Soviet people in general and of each Soviet person in particular.

The second subject which became pivotal in the addresses by deputies is the priority of restructuring and the need to persistently expedite the process of the renewal of socialism, which is vitally important for our people, to protect it against everything that is extraneous, accidental, and secondary, against attempts to erect artificial obstacles before it and to divert society's attention toward side issues—and, of course, to protect it against direct attacks, both from the right and from the left, on restructuring itself, on the policy of restructuring.

Only within the course of restructuring, only on its pathways can the resolution be found of the principal problems facing our society and all peoples who live in our great country.

This, comrades, is a very important conclusion, an important political observation which we have achieved through suffering in the past 3 years. It has been confirmed here by the common view of the Supreme Soviet deputies.

Finally, improving interethnic relations and the demarcation of the powers of the union and the republics became the third subject. This was good and useful, because the USSR Supreme Soviet, and with it the entire country, can clearly formulate their position on vitally important issues and weigh up the arguments of our comrades who represent the supreme organs of power of the union and autonomous republics and other national formations.

Not in the least seeking to smooth over or reduce to a common denominator the different points of views which were heard from this rostrum, I would like to stress the main thing that those who spoke were unanimous on affirming that the motto "a firm union means a strong center and strong republics" meets the interests of all our peoples. [applause] As we understand it, the union means all the republics combined, in other words, their concerted interest and collective will which no single member of our federation can disregard.

I think, comrades, that it will be correct to say that we will emerge from this session with a strengthened conviction of the fact that one must spare no effort to ensure that in our common home, in the USSR, all nations and ethnic groups feel well; have an opportunity to develop freely their Soviet and national traditions, language, and culture; strengthen cooperation among themselves in all spheres of life; and preserve and augment the Leninist legacy of internationalism.

All the peoples of our country should be certain that in the USSR, the problems which concern them will be resolved in a fraternal manner, on the basis of respect and mutual understanding. The point at issue is not some distant period, but the intention to fundamentally review these questions at the Central Committee plenum next June and indeed, before then, in the run-up; because there are many questions which should be resolved tomorrow even, within the next days and months, and then they should be enshrined within the framework of the newly created state structures.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has just met. This topic was also discussed there in an open form and with fervent [goryachiy] commitment. I said to the comrades that we have to free ourselves, both in the center and in the republics, of suspicions about each other, because it is perceptible, in discussions and meetings with comrade

representatives of the republics, that there is nevertheless mutual suspicion. The republics suspect that there are certain Kremlin secrets with regard to them, while in the center they often perceive problem-raising by republics as something improper. We must rid ourselves of these attitudes, comrades.

If we are committed to the choice we made in October, if we want to continue the cause started then and renew our country on socialist principles, if we are in favor of people's friendship based on Leninist principles, if we are in favor of restructuring, then we will be able to reach agreement on all questions and resolve them. That is the most important thing.

But if anyone adheres to other standpoints, then it is difficult to count on him being concerned about our union or about the harmonization of relations between the center and the republics or about ensuring that in our country all peoples and ethnic groups and every person of any nationality regardless of where he lives, will have a good life. We should put such people in their place. [applause]

It should particularly be said that all work in this direction will be conducted by the central and republican party and state bodies, public organizations, scientists, specialists, and the general public, in close cooperation and in a public [glasno] and open manner.

It can't be concealed that we at the center have had a good lesson. I think that you have also had a good lesson, during the discussion of the issues related to the first stage of the reform. You know, that is inevitable. We will probably have to take more knocks too, on other issues. But it is important to keep to principled standpoints and to maintain and deepen trust between the republics and the union and, within each republic, among all the peoples living there.

A great deal could have been avoided and, as the discussion has demonstrated, formulas acceptable to the Supreme Soviet could have been found today, if we had really thought it all through properly when preparing documents. That is on the one hand. On the other hand, many things which today are viewed as realistic, acceptable, and even necessary for advancing the process of democratization of our country caused questions at the first stage. Why? Because we had not bothered to explain this properly. So the old custom of "never mind, all this will pass" weighed down the center. Therefore, I repeat that we are all getting great schooling, and that we all have to become good pupils.

The adoption of the laws of constitutional amendments and on the election's of people's deputies will open a new phase in the development of the Soviet state system on the basis of democratization and self-government of the people. There are many innovative provisions in these draft laws. They are essential, since restructuring itself calls for nonstandard and offbeat solutions, a time to

search and to break down past dogma. We should be well aware of this, comrades. This is clearly the key to the fact that the new aspects of the drafts, such as congresses of people's deputies, the representation of mass organizations, a standing Supreme Soviet, and alternative candidates at elections and a number of other aspects were not immediately understood and supported, as I said.

Well, such is the logic of life, and such is the destiny of new solutions. At the same time, we are convinced that these solutions are necessary. They are necessary because they unfetter people's energy and initiative, enable everyone to have his say in political life, and give the state the opportunity to better gather and express the people's interests.

Of course, it is difficult to predict all the details, all the specifics of political reform at the moment. Yesterday and the day before the deputies spoke rightly, saying that we will hardly be able to achieve ideal documents, perfect in all respects, at the first try. In this transition period of restructuring, the words of Vladimir Ilich Lenin spring to mind again and again: that we have never considered our activity as a whole, or our constitution specifically, to be a model of perfection forever. And should experience demonstrate the need for adjustments to the way elections are arranged, mass organizations are represented or to the way the chambers or the deputies work, or to any other aspects, then this will certainly be possible.

Bear in mind that we are setting up a new, very prestigious and representative organ of power which will reflect all society's national, territorial, and social interests, and the entire pluralism of opinions, views, and needs. It is quite natural that such an organ, the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the permanently functioning Supreme Soviet elected by it, will be able, if the need arises, to fill in the details, to optimize the state mechanism proposed today. I want to repeat again and again: it is important now to start, to move ahead, to give a flying start to the political reform chartered by the 19th party conference. The adoption of draft laws simultaneously means that we are entering a new stage of the reform which will affect questions of harmonizing the relationship between the center and the union republics.

Comrade deputies:

The current composition of the USSR Supreme Soviet is holding its last session. Of course, it will perform its functions until the election by the congress of people's deputies of a new top body of authority in the country, and all the deputies will continue their work. If the need for an emergency session of some sort of the USSR Supreme Soviet does not arise, then the present sitting is the final act of its rich political biography. It is for the working people to judge the results of the Supreme Soviet's work, and indeed life itself will judge what this group of deputies has done.

Its assessments, as you have heard here, were not unanimous. I will say frankly that some of the deputies' statements about this Supreme Soviet were, I think, not fully correct. They even offended me personally as a deputy. Why? I want to say definitely: It is this Supreme Soviet that bore the great responsibility for adopting and supporting the decisions connected with our country's embarking on the path of revolutionary restructuring and renewal of Soviet society. And the party Central Committee highly appreciates the fact that our deputies actively support the line of the 27th congress and did much to transform it into real policy. This was a great accomplishment! [applause]

Suffice it to recall such fundamental decisions of ours as the law on state socialist enterprise, the law on cooperatives, and today's bills, which provide a powerful stimulus to political reform. These important landmarks will determine and define the significance of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th Convocation, in our country's history.

Allow me to express the firm conviction, dear comrades present here, that you will actively continue to participate in political life and will fight to implement the tasks of restructuring and to enact those major decisions which we have adopted to date and will adopt at this session. [applause]

Gorbachev, Transcaucasia Deputies Meet 1 Dec
LD0112192088 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1830 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, 1 Dec (TASS)—Today in the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, held a meeting with deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet and representatives of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR. It was attended by Comrades N.I. Ryzhkov, N.N. Slyunkov, V.M. Chebrikov, A.N. Yakovlev, A.I. Lukyanov, and G.P. Razumovskiy.

In the course of a frank exchange of views, several matters were discussed concerning the stabilization of the situation in the region, and measures to reduce and remove the tension and to strengthen mutual trust, discipline, and law and order in the aforementioned union republics. It was stressed that conflicts between nationalities, strikes arising from them, and antisocial manifestations are seriously damaging the economy and are objectively directed against the democratic processes of renewal under way in the country.

Those attending the meeting called for the consolidation of all healthy forces in both republics, for the organization of a stern rebuff against attempts to sow discord and enmity on the basis of nationality, and for the immediate establishment of close working contacts to settle the state of affairs in the region.

The meeting was addressed by A.-R.Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party; S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party; A.D. Melikov, USSR people's artist and composer; K.A. Abbasov, general director of the Kaspomor-neft Association; L.A. Simonyan, chief technologist at the Kanakert aluminium works; P.M. Davtyan, a team leader at the Kadzharan copper and molybdenum combine; S.V. Mamunts, director of the 22nd party congress sovkhoz in Mardakert Rayon, Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast; and other deputies.

Those attending the meeting were addressed by M.S. Gorbachev.

More on Medvedev, Lukyanov 29 Nov Briefing
PM0212100588 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY
in Russian No 49, 3-9 Dec 88
(Signed to Press 1 Dec 88) pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "To Breathe New Life Into the Soviets"]

[Text] The work of the USSR Supreme Soviet extraordinary session which discussed steps to radically reform the USSR's political system has been at the center of public attention for several days.

At the end of the CPSU Central Committee plenum, on the first day of the USSR Supreme Soviet extraordinary session's work, journalists at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center were addressed by V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

V.A. Medvedev spoke about the work of the Central Committee plenum and the tasks of deepening restructuring. He pointed out, in particular, that the adoption of the Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and the Law on Elections of People's Deputies is the first stage in restructuring state organs, at which questions of the structure of the supreme organs of state power and elections to them are chiefly being resolved.

A.I. Lukyanov dwelt on the results of the nationwide discussion of the draft laws submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet for examination and touched on the draft laws which are being prepared and which will be submitted to the first session of the newly elected USSR Supreme Soviet. Among them he named the laws on trade unions, on young people, on the press, on glasnost in the work of state organs and public organizations, on voluntary societies, on the fundamentals of criminal legislation, on pension provision, and others.

Answers were then given to questions from Soviet and foreign journalists.

Question. Where was it possible to familiarize oneself with the amendments to the draft laws proposed during the work of the special deputies' preparatory commission? How was the composition of the CPSU Central Committee commissions determined? Will they not replace the Central Committee Secretariat?

Lukyanov. These amendments concern a large number of articles. A considerable proportion of the amendments was cited, for example, in the bulletin ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, which has a print run of 10 million copies. They were also discussed in a PRAVDA interview with V.G. Lomonosov, leader of the commission.

Medvedev. As you could have seen from the published lists, the CPSU Central Committee commissions include members of the CPSU Central Committee, candidate members of the Central Committee, and members of the Central Auditing Commission who possess the greatest experience in a particular sphere of party activity.

I can refer to the Ideological Commission, which I have been entrusted with heading. It includes comrades from among leading workers in the mass media and creative unions and from among first secretaries of union republic Communist Party central committees and party obkoms. Representatives of the working class and the peasantry have been included. The commission's composition has also been formed in such a way as to take the maximum account of the experience accumulated by comrades on the Central Committee and to ensure the possibility of a comprehensive, multifaceted discussion of all the problems which the commissions have to tackle.

This principle has also been applied to the formation of the other CPSU Central Committee commissions.

Representation of the union and autonomous republics and other national formations on the commissions is also provided for. One exception from the general rule has been made: The commissions include certain first secretaries of union republic Communist Party central committees who are not members of the CPSU Central Committee by virtue of the fact that they were elected to these posts comparatively recently.

As regards the commissions' functions, they are advisory, consultative, and expert organs of the party's Central Committee and its Politburo. The commissions will study problems in their own areas and formulate and submit proposals for the party's Central Committee.

On the basis of the results of study and examination of a particular question the commissions will submit draft documents and analytical materials for discussion at Politburo sessions and Central Committee plenums.

The regulations governing the commissions' work have not been firmly established, but it is intended that they will regularly study and analyze particular questions,

prepare proposals, set up working groups to study these questions, and involve specialists. The commissions will meet as necessary, but no less frequently than once every 3 months.

The commissions do not intend somehow to replace the Central Committee Secretariat. They will work under the Politburo's leadership and in close contact with it.

Question. Please share your impressions of your trip to Latvia.

Medvedev. There has been a big revival of public movements and increased activeness among the intelligentsia, young people, and all of society as a whole in Latvia in recent months. This is undoubtedly connected with the general situation of democratization and glasnost. People are coming back to active involvement in public life and analyzing problems of the republic's socioeconomic development and ecological and national-demographic problems. The increase in people's sociopolitical activeness could only be welcomed if it benefited the cause in all instances. But unhealthy and, in a number of cases, extremist manifestations have appeared against the general background of positive processes in the republic's development. However, I take an optimistic view of the further prospects for the development of the situation in the republic.

Question. A lot of time has been set aside to prepare for the CPSU Central Committee plenum on interethnic relations. How will this plenum be prepared for?

Medvedev. It is proposed to hold the Central Committee plenum on interethnic relations in the middle of next year. A number of reasons can account for this. The problems of interethnic relations are so complex, profound, and multifaceted that it will take time to study them attentively and find practical solutions. In addition, these are very "sensitive" problems, and it is better to analyze and resolve them in an atmosphere of public calm.

There are other reasons too, including a definite order for the party's Central Committee to examine questions. In particular, a Central Committee plenum is planned on problems of developing agriculture and improving the country's food supply (at the end of the winter—apparently, in February). In addition, elections of USSR people's deputies are to be held and there is the USSR Congress of People's Deputies—the formation of a new structure of state organs.

Question. What is the essence of conservative forces and trends today and what is their role in the republics where the national question is acute?

Medvedev. Conservative forces and trends are present in certain sentiments and statements, including the following: "The worsening of interethnic relations was generated by restructuring" and "restructuring began—and

undesirable phenomena began in a number of republics." In fact restructuring did not cause problems in interethnic relations. Restructuring and the atmosphere of glasnost and democratization have only brought to light problems that had been brewing for a long time.

Lukyanov. Realizing that restructuring will destroy their positions and destroy corruption and other such things, conservative forces often try to drag us off the rails of restructuring onto the path of interethnic clashes. As they say, you can blow the dust off interethnic conflict but underneath there is naked interest in leaving everything as it was before.

Question. Do you consider that the decisions which were adopted by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet correctly reflect public opinion in Estonia?

Medvedev. Whereas the fundamental questions of change in the political system, which were reflected in the two draft laws, were discussed over a number of months—both prior to and after the 19th party conference—the decisions of the Estonian Supreme Soviet were adopted spontaneously under the influence of the section of public sentiments and emotions which have prevailed in the republic for some time. They were not the subject of preliminary serious and in-depth professional discussion. That is why I am not inclined to believe that they adequately reflect the republic population's sentiments and public opinion, not to mention the fact that both the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium received a vast number of letters, proposals, and statements of a contrary nature, including from Estonia itself.

There is now a chance for us to sensibly and soberly assess what has taken place and the real problems for the development of the republic, how our public and our leadership should respond to them, and assess what has been adopted under the influence of the agitation—in the worse sense of this word—mounted by certain "Popular Front" representatives. I think that everything will fall into place in the course of this work.

Lukyanov. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decision on this question is based on the clear directive of Article 121 of the USSR Constitution, which compels the Presidium to see that republic legislation corresponds with union legislation. The practice of the Presidium bringing republic legislation into line with union legislation has existed and still does—this happened, for instance, with regard to the Constitutions of Estonia, Moldavia, and a number of other republics. In that case the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium deems the union republic's act invalid since, under Article 74 of the USSR Constitution, if a republic's law differs from union law, union law is valid. There is no need to see anything preternatural in this. This is a general rule on which our single allied state is founded.

Question. Is it possible to adopt "changes to the changes," that is, to further improve the laws?

Lukyanov. Undoubtedly, practice will make its own amendments and possibly even amend the articles of the laws that we are now adopting, especially since they are now being adopted by the Supreme Soviet, whereas the USSR Congress of People's Deputies will have the right to change the Constitution in the future.

Further Reports From Transcaucasus Republics
LD0112142788 Moscow World Service in English
0310 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Now a report about the situation in the Soviet Transcaucasian republics of Azerbaijan and Armenia, where tension continues to run high.

The situation was aggravated this time by the building of a cooperative's production shop in Topkhan in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region, which is part of Soviet Azerbaijan. The cooperative itself, however, was set up under an industrial enterprise in Armenia. As we reported earlier a state of emergency has been introduced in some of the cities in Azerbaijan: Baku, Nakhichevan, and Kirovabad, and army units have been sent there.

Newspapers state that some of the subway stations in Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, are closed. There is no public transport traffic in the city center. A curfew is in effect from 2200-0500. The papers also quote the Abdul Dzhalilov, leader of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee as saying that meetings were going on. On the whole, he said, they are peaceful. However, under the influence of certain forces, criminal elements have sharply stepped up their activities. Hoodlums have become active in 17 cities and regions of the republic. Many people have been wounded, and there have also been casualties.

Alarming news has come recently from another big city in Azerbaijan, Nakhichevan. A group of hoodlums there broke into some administrative buildings and smashed everything. In Kirovabad the hoodlums' excesses ended in a tragedy. When trying to prevent raids on one of the city districts where the residents are mainly of Armenian nationality, a Soviet Army officer and two soldiers were killed. According to the Newspaper MOSCOW NEWS, an endless meeting has been going on in Baku for almost 2 weeks. The participants demand that the building of the shop in Topkhan be stopped; that was what sparked off meetings and strikes. Incidentally, the construction of the shop has already been suspended.

There are also other demands. One of them is to form on the territory of Armenia an autonomous region for the Azerbaijani part of the Population. If that is not done, the autonomous status of Nagorno-Karabakh should be done away with. Other groundless demands have been made, and the participants in the meetings expect the leaders of Azerbaijan to react to these demands.

A special state of emergency has also been introduced in Yerevan, the capital of Armenia. Refugees from Azerbaijan continue to arrive in the city. Armenia's internal affairs minister said that over 16,000 people have already come from the neighboring republic. There are difficulties in finding places for them to live. The workers at many of the factories are still staying away from their jobs. The strikes continue. Losses are already running into millions of rubles, writes the newspaper SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA. So the situation in the region on the whole remains complicated, through as newsmen say, there are signs of normalization.

Though the MOSCOW NEWS, a group of well-known Soviet culture and science workers as well as Russian Orthodox churchmen, have appealed to intellectuals in Azerbaijan and Armenia. They stressed that it is the duty of real friends to go out among the people and appeal to those who have been deceived and are blind with hatred to return to reason and block the way to cruelty and violence.

Yerevan, Stepanakert Scenes
PM0212105988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 2 Dec 88 First Edition p 4

[Colonel N. Mulyar report: "Tension Is Not Abating"]

[Text] Yerevan—The situation in Yerevan, as in the republic on the whole, is still tense. Incidents entailing grave consequences have been recorded in a number of rayons. The working day at the city's enterprises begins with a discussion of the prevailing situation. Many people are simply not going to work and this is having a marked impact on the economy. The country has had a shortfall of 191,000 alternating current electric motors, more than 1,700 metal cutters, 629,000 clocks, and other important output worth a total of more than R12 million.

The curfew is still in operation in the city.

"Recently," Major General G. Kolyshkin said, "there have been fewer instances of violation of the curfew. People have an understanding attitude toward it. This has made it possible to reduce it by 1 hour as of 5 December—from 2300 to 0600. Admission of private automobiles and out-of-town transport to the city will be extended on presentation of passports and certificates to rayon and rural soviet ispolkoms."

"Karabakh" activists have slackened their activity in Yerevan and transferred it outside the city. In the guise of helping the local authorities to ensure order and aid the refugees, they are trying to use their fighters to threaten the Azerbaijanis and force them to leave their homes.

Party and soviet organs are currently carrying out work to explain the situation that has taken shape in the republic and are calling on people to come back to work. Precinct commandants and garrison political workers are also taking part in this. For instance, Colonel M. Surkov, chief of the garrison political department, met at the republic's Komsomol Central Committee with representatives of Yerevan State University and Polytechnical Institute student organizations.

Refugees are causing a serious problem. In the last 24 hours more than 11,000 have arrived in Armenia. At the same time approximately 8,000 Azerbaijanis have left the republic. In this connection a republic commission has been set up to aid the refugees. It is headed by V. Movsisyan, chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers. Comparable commissions have also been created in rayons. The republic's leadership is taking all steps to improve the situation and get people back to normal living.

Stepanakert—Strikes are continuing in the capital of the autonomous oblast.

"Admittedly," Major General A. Kolomiytsev, commander of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Special District and Azerbaijan's Agdamskiy Rayon, said, "the meat combine and the dairy are working in the city and bread is being baked. School classes have begun. Some construction workers are continuing to work on erecting apartment blocks. The situation in the oblast is being completely controlled by the troops. But there is still tension. Groups of refugees from both republics are hotting it up with various rumors."

Refugees Still Fleeing Republics

LD0212095988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0540 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] [Announcer] What is happening now in the Transcaucasian republics? Our special correspondents in Yerevan, Kuryun Khomaryan and Yuriy Korotkov, report on the situation in Armenia.

[Unidentified correspondent] In general, the situation in Armenia is less tense than in recent days. This is the result of the large amount of intensive work by party, local soviet, and economic bodies. On the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia, agitation and propaganda groups have gone out into the mixed-population regions. Eminent Armenian scientists—Academicians Fanardzhyan, (Avoyan), Arakel-yan, Sarkisyan; writers and cultural figures (Rach Oanes-yan), (Tsen Aleksaychan), (Leon Murkachan); and many others have been included in this work. They visited labor collectives, met workers and peasants, told them about the situation in Armenia and Azerbaijan, and called for calm and reason, and for all-around support to be given to party and local soviet organizations in overcoming the difficulties which had arisen, and in maintaining discipline and order.

There has been a considerable improvement at industrial enterprises in Armenia, but the most serious and urgent problem today remains the problem of migrants. According to official data, since the start of the conflict over 50,000 Armenians have left Azerbaijan, including 21,000 in the past week. In the main, these refugees have come from Baku, Kirovabad, Mengichaur, Nakhichevan, and Shamkhor, a total of 15 populated points. Concern for these has been undertaken by special commissions set up in all towns and regions of the republic. They provide people with temporary accommodation, food, and medical services. The overwhelming number of refugees find shelter with relatives and friends. Apart from this, a fund to help refugees has been set up in the republic, with funds from labor collectives and individual citizens being paid into account number 700810 at the Armzhilsots Bank. This fund has already received R250,000. Active help is also being given to the migrants by "Charity," the Armenian public charitable union.

Meanwhile, the curfew is still in force in Yerevan. There are tanks and armored cars in the streets and squares, as well as reinforced units of law enforcement forces. Representatives of the command appear on republican television and radio every day, and meet with the city's labor collectives and with representatives of the press. A briefing took place at which Colonel (Surkov), chief of the political department of the garrison, gave an assessment of the situation in the republic.

[Begin (Surkov) recording] In the week since the curfew was imposed, there have been no incidents or crimes connected with the implementation of the tasks of the curfew on the territory of Yerevan. However, the situation has become more tense in Masisskiy Rayon. There continue to be a few minor clashes in Kalininskiy Rayon. There is an increasing number of people of Armenian nationality who are seeking refuge and shelter in military units. We have now set ourselves the task of ensuring security in mixed-community villages. [end recording]

[Announcer] And here is news which has come in from Baku.

[Unidentified correspondent] Just as Armenians are leaving Azerbaijan, so are Azerbaijanis leaving Armenia. The city's airport and the railway station are crowded. The Council of Ministers of Azerbaijan has adopted a decision on measures for accommodating in the republic people of Azerbaijan nationality who have arrived from the Armenian SSR. Regional headquarters have been set up in a number of rayons. Pioneer camps are being urgently reequipped and housing is being erected. Funds are being collected to build houses for refugees. The collective of the Institute of the Oil Industry contributed R100,000, while workers of one of the directorates of the Promstroymekhanizatsiya trust contributed 1 day's pay. These people are not fleeing from a natural calamity: The disasters which are forcing people to break off their friendly links are more terrible.

This is our common grief: This assessment of the situation was given in an interview with a correspondent of the SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA by metalworker (Aleksandr Stepanovich Skrebogotov), a Russian from the Volga area, for whom Azerbaijan has become a second home. He is convinced that it is due to the actions of forces opposing restructuring, those who fear retribution, fear to lose their ill-gotten gains. The rest have nothing to fear, for there is nothing dividing us; we all share the same land and intend to live as good neighbors, in peace and harmony, he said.

You probably know about the arrest of (Namecharov), a director of KRUNK, the Stepanakert building materials combine. Ten of his accomplices were arrested with him. These people had turned the building materials combine and the bureau for providing services to citizens into a source of unearned incomes, said Katushev, deputy procurator general of the USSR, in an interview for the press. The degree of guilt of each person will be established by the court. To date we have sufficient evidence to bring accusations of theft against them, Comrade Katushev stressed. Namecharov and his accomplices made money from people's grief, stealing expensive building materials, and receiving bribes for erecting headstones. Their credo was extremely immoral—if you want to get rich, make use of people's sorrow.

Let me add that the strikes in Stepanakert are continuing. True, as was noted in a conversation a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent had with the commander of the special region, Major General (Kolonidze), the meat combine and dairy works are operating in the town, and bread is being distributed. Lessons have begun in schools. [passage indistinct]

Refugee Figures Cited

NC0112154088 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
0525 GMT 1 Dec 88

[From the review of SOVETAKAN AYASTAN]

[Text] The paper carries a report on the session of the commission of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers for refugees from the Azerbaijan SSR. The commission pointed out in its regular session that the situation in the region is still tense and that the intensive emigration from Azerbaijan to Armenia and vice versa continues.

By 30 November, the number of people arriving in Armenia was 30,907, while 40,652 Azerbaijanis left the republic.

Curfews in Yerevan, Azerbaijan

NC0112125688 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian
1100 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Conditions remained tense in the republic yesterday. According to data issued by the Armenian MVD, clashes resulting in injuries have occurred in certain populated localities with a mixed Armenian-Azerbaijani

population. An especially tense situation has arisen in the Masisskiy, (?Gordenitskiy), Araratskiy, Noyemberyanskiy, and Gugarksiy Rayons of the republic.

A particularly large gathering of refugees has created a grave situation in the Tumanyanskiy, Idzhevanskiy, Krasnoselskiy, and Gorisskiy Rayons.

During the night of 30 November, 286 persons were detained in Yerevan City for various curfew violations. Of these 5 were arrested. During the same period 1,115 transport vehicles were checked. There were no arrests or detentions. Three edged weapons were discovered.

The rhythm of labor in Yerevan and other cities of the republic is being restored slowly. On 30 November 70 percent of work places in industrial enterprises and 50 percent of those in the building industry were occupied. Enterprises and organizations involving essential services, markets, and food shops, as well as public transport, functioned smoothly. Lessons are beginning to be held in schools of general education, and in higher and middle level special educational institutions. However, a large number of students are still not attending classes.

According to available data, tension remains in the Azerbaijan SSR. A curfew is still in force in eight cities of the republic. In Baku and Nakhichevan there were no reports during the day of any conflicts on interethnic grounds. The situation is under control.

Representatives of the USSR MVD who are in Kirovbad City at the request of the Armenian MVD report that during the last few days no pogroms, arson attempts, or acts of violence connected with citizens of Armenian nationality have been noted. On 30 November alone, 50 tons of foodstuffs were delivered to supply the city's Armenian population. Their supply of other essential goods has also been ensured. The Armenian church building in Kirovbad is under guard. No clashes of any kind involving those of Armenian nationality have been observed during the last 24 hours in the church grounds.

Notice on Evacuations Issued

LD0112202388 Baku Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Notice by the military commandant of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] Report by the military commandant of the Baku City Special District:

After numerous requests from Armenian refugees who want to [words indistinct] their relatives and close friends, four groups of officers were sent out in helicopters on 30 November, (?together with persons) empowered by the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee and representatives of citizens formerly living

in Gugarkskiy, Idzhevskiy, Krasnoselskiy, Vardenisskiy, and Kafanskiy Rayons in Armenia. The situation in these rayons remains difficult and is often unclear.

An assessment of the situation and proposals on how to improve it and to protect the lives and [words indistinct] on Azerbaijani citizens in Armenia were (?related in writing) to the specially formed CPSU Central Committee commission. [passage indistinct]

Today the [words indistinct] officers from the Baku City Special District and representatives of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers helicoptered into the Kafan, Sisian, and Idzhevan areas and evacuated Azerbaijanis [words indistinct]. A similar task will be carried out in Araratskiy and Masisskiy Rayons [words indistinct] of the military commandant of the Yerevan City Special District.

It has been reported that on Azerbaijani territory the situation remains tense and dangerous in a number of rayons and towns. Thus, for example, up to 4,000-5,000 Armenians have gathered in Kirovobad after losing their housing. (?This has resulted) in great difficulties in organizing their accommodation and departure.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District

Writer Appeals to Sakharov

NC0212062788 Baku Domestic Service in Russian
0449 GMT 2 Dec 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] Some readers and radio listeners already may know that Academician Sakharov, who is in the United States, has, in one of his speeches, accused the Azerbaijani people of genocide, declaring that hundreds of Armenians have been killed or wounded in Kirovobad.

In this connection, the writer Suleyman Veliyev has come out with an open letter to Academician Sakharov and which is published in VYSHKA: "You are trying to raise the world community in defense of the Armenians and are urging the formation of Armenian self-defense units. It is difficult to convey the amazement and the indignation that this report by foreign radio stations provoked in me," Suleyman Veliyev writes.

"I appeal to you to publicly admit your mistake and to turn all your efforts toward the good of science and the defense of the rights of man, and not toward setting one nation against another. Otherwise, all the calamities that may occur as a result of such speeches will all be on your conscience."

Green Islamic Flags at Rallies

LD0112113488 Hamburg DPA in German 0839 GMT
1 Dec 88

[Excerpts] Moscow, (DPA)—Several tens of thousands of Armenians and Azerbaijanis have left their homes for fear of nationalist attacks since the outbreak of the conflict concerning the autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabakh in February. In numerous towns in Azerbaijan and Armenia commissions have been set up to deal with (?resettling) the refugees. Figures for the refugees, however, differ considerably. According to the Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry, a total of 55,000 Azerbaijanis have fled from Armenia since February. The Armenian Foreign Ministry, on the other hand, speaks of "at the most" 40,000 Azerbaijani refugees. In the same period 22,000 Armenians fled from Azerbaijan. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, rallies are continuing in Azerbaijan. According to unofficial reports, flags showing the green of the Iranian revolution are increasingly appearing among the demonstrators. The Azerbaijan parliamentary president, Tatliyev, told journalists after a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow that he personally had seen no such flags.

A spokesman for the Foreign Ministry in Baku told DPA today that "such manifestations" cannot be avoided at such large events. However, they are "completely insignificant" in terms of numbers. The Azerbaijanis are solely concerned with the realization of the Moscow arbitration of July. [passage omitted]

Situation in Armenian Republic Remains 'Grave'

NC0212092788 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
0300 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Notice from the Yerevan military commandant]

[Text] The situation in the republic continues to be grave. By 2400 on 30 November some 5,350 [word indistinct] were inspected in Yerevan. Since the curfew was established in the various [word indistinct], 2,412 violators have been arrested, 32 of whom have been detained. During the same period, 12,160 automobiles have been inspected, 417 of which have been impounded. Six firearms, 26 edged weapons, and 3 kg of explosives have also been confiscated. [words indistinct] (?protest) were heard in the city on the [word indistinct] strikes.

Party and soviet associations in (?residential areas) are taking steps in areas where curfews are in effect in order to clarify the [word indistinct] situation and to ensure the operation of associations. Every morning, groups of people and (?students) gather on (?Lenin) and Sayat Nova Streets in front of the central telecommunications and the state agro-industrial buildings. No individuals are violating public order.

In the meantime, the refugees thank the military personnel for having helped them leave Azerbaijan.

The military commandant once again fervently requests the residents of the republic to maintain calm and self-restraint, and to not permit steps that are against law and order. This particularly applies to the residents of Gugarkskiy, Kalininskiy, and Stepanavanskiy Rayons, where (?illegal acts) have led to violence and to deaths.

Military Commandant's Notice

NC0112120688 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian
1100 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Notice from the military commandant of Yerevan City]

[Text] From the military commandant of Yerevan city: For the period from 2400 hours on 24 November up to the present, 2,412 people and 369 automobiles have been detained in Yerevan city for violating the curfew. On the whole, conditions in the city are calm. With understanding and a sense of responsibility, the population is fulfilling all curfew requirements. There have been no incidents or crimes connected with its observance.

At the same time, conditions in various rayons of the republic continue to remain tense. Ethnic incidents with serious consequences, including loss of life, have occurred in the Kalininskiy, Gorisskiy, Gugarkskiy, Martuninskiy, and Stepanavanskiy Rayons.

We appeal to all the republic's inhabitants to be prudent, to keep public order, and not to permit isolated incidents to deteriorate into mass disturbances fraught with dangerous consequences.

Taking into consideration that order and discipline have been secured in Yerevan city, that all curfew requirements are being carried out, and for the purpose of the city's normal functioning, I hereby issue orders:

1. To amend the duration of the curfew, making it from 2300-0600 hours.
2. To permit state and private automobiles with passports and certificates issued by ispolkoms of rayon and agricultural soviets to enter Yerevan city to ensure the supply of agricultural produce in the markets.
3. These amendments go into effect on 5 December this year.

Refugee Commissions Recommended

NC0112151488 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
0300 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] In order to achieve practical solutions for the issues concerning the refugees from the Azerbaijan SSR, the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers has recommended that commissions for refugee matters be formed

in all the rayons and cities of the republic. These commissions will be headed by the secretaries of the peoples' deputies' gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms.

These rayon and city commissions should take effective steps to ensure temporary or permanent housing for the refugees who have arrived in the rayons and cities, to give them medical, material, and other assistance, and to solve their employment, education, livelihood, and other problems.

It has been recommended that the [words indistinct] (?be studied) and be handed to the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers' commission for refugees (?so that the necessary) assistance can be extended to them.

It has been requested that all the possibilities for housing the refugees in the rayons and cities be carefully studied and clarified—such as occupied or empty houses and buildings, (?condemned) buildings that can be turned into residences, the renting of private houses or rooms, and the construction of (?houses) on sites during this year and in 1989. It has also been requested that a report on these activities be handed in to the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers within 3 days.

Capital Calm But Uneasy Elsewhere

LD0112114388 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
0300 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Military communique issued by Colonel General Tyagunov, Baku City Special District Military Commandant]

[Text] Attention! Attention, comrades! It is 0700 Baku time.

I have received the following information from Lieutenant General Samsonov, Yerevan City Special District military commandant:

As a result of measures taken from 29 November-30 November in Yerevan and in the Armenian SSR, the situation is being controlled. During the night there were no cases of murder, residential arson, robbery, or assault. The situation remains acute in Gugarkskiy, Kalininskiy, Stepanavanskiy, Masisskiy, and Araratskiy Rayons, where measures are being taken to improve the situation. Azerbaijanis who have expressed their desire to leave Armenia are being sent in an organized way under the protection of military detachments.

Weapons Needed Three Times

NC0112170288 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1700 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Notice by Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] Notice by the military commandant of the Baku City Special District:

The situation was generally peaceful in Baku's Special District from 2200 on 29 November to 0500 on 30 November. Law and order was heeded in the city. Nevertheless, the units of the curfew (?situation) used their weapons on three occasions to obstruct developments which might have created apprehension over the life and security of (?Baku residents) and to maintain and safeguard motor transport. There were no deaths.

Azimov [words indistinct], a driver of [words indistinct] No 3, and Mamedov (?Zeyad) Feridun Oglu, a driver for the republic's veterinary services, were imprisoned for 30 days for their hooligan activities against individual citizens in Kirov Rayon in accordance with the decree the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted on 23 November 1988.

Citizens Takhiyev, Kerimov, Mamedov, Mikhailov, (?Seid-Zade), and [name indistinct] were placed in custody in (?Shamiyan) Rayon for violating pass regulations.

In general, 556 people were detained during the night, 31 of whom were imprisoned.

Four firearms and 11 weapons made of metal were discovered. A total of 61 automobiles were also detained.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District

Reports From Azerbaijan Republic Continue

Recent 'Disturbances' Noted

NC0212113188 Baku Domestic Service in Russian
1000 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Notice from Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] During the past 24 hours in the city [words indistinct] of Azerbaijani nationality. During the night of 1 to 2 December, disturbances were provoked in Privokzanlaya Square and in Ordzenikidzevskiy, [name indistinct], Azizbekovskiy, [name indistinct], Leninskiy, and other rayons of the city. In the area of the railway station, a mob of up to 1,500 persons attempted to beat up citizens of Armenian nationality. Because of the measures adopted, the troops stopped the attempts at hooligan activities. In five cases weapons were used to restore public order and warning shots were fired. For violating the curfew 417 persons were detained and 63 automobiles were impounded; 31 persons have been arrested. Nine firearms and two edged weapons have been confiscated.

Rumors and fabrications of various sorts, including some about the number of victims in the Armenian SSR, have been spread recently with increasing intensity. Citizens ask me questions on these matters. As it already has explained to you on television, this is not a service

falling within the competence of the military commandant of the special district. For this purpose a team from the USSR Procuracy has been formed, to whom questions should be addressed. They are at Moscow, Pushkinskaya Street, house number 15-a.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of Baku City special district

Paper Reports Tensions, Controls

PM0112150988 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA
in Russian 1 Dec 88 p 4

[Report by own special correspondents A. Romanov and A. Teplyuk under the general heading "Less Emotion, More Wisdom": "Baku"]

[Text] Strikes and demonstrations prompted by the construction of an industrial facility in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast without Baku's permission continue in the Azerbaijan capital.

N. Zeynalov, a young inhabitant of Baku, has halted his protest hunger strike. Our Azerbaijan readers ask that we give the reason for the hunger strike. The reason is the demand that the hearing of the Sumgait affair be switched to Sumgait, that the "Krunk" leadership be prosecuted, and that work at Topkhana be stopped. As we have already reported, construction has stopped there and material and equipment have been removed.

Money will get you anything you want in Baku, save for air tickets today. There is chaos at Aeroflot offices. To prevent abuse and to ensure fair play, the commandant's office has taken control of ticket allocation. Military personnel also control the stations, the airport, and communications, trade, and public catering enterprises.

The number of people—for the most part Armenians—wanting to withdraw money from their savings accounts has risen dramatically. Savings bank staff members are urging clients to make use of letters of credit, but most customers prefer cash.

In conversation with us, A. Velibekov, general director of the republic health and epidemiology center, rebutted rumors that Baku's main square has become the center of a severe dysentery epidemic. But, as Abbas Soltaiovich said, disaster is just a step away. Produce is trucked in to participants in the rallies from the rayons and health inspectors are unable to check it. Demonstrators also bring food with them. Basic facilities for the reception of food are lacking. We can confirm that horrifyingly unsanitary conditions exist in the square. Sheep carcasses are butchered in a nearby public garden.. The temperature has dropped sharply in recent days. The threat of an influenza epidemic has increased. Republic

Health Minister T. Kasumov also speaks with concern about this. But tens of thousands of people visit the square daily, and these include a large number of young children.

But there is a virus more dangerous than influenza. Thousands of kids happily tag along with their elder brothers and sisters to rallies. They regard the events as a fascinating game and cut classes. A young boy shouts out a slogan and his elders are touched.

We were shaken by one remark in the newspaper PIONER AZERBAYDZHANA subtitled "The Resolution of the Sons of the Land of Fires" (25 November 88). "You find people of your own age among the demonstrators," A. Aslanogly, the author, writes with delight. "Classes have been interrupted in most Baku schools. Youngsters gather in groups in the square, reluctant to leave their parents and elder brothers and sisters. The anger, concern, resolve, and pure and unclouded gaze of these patriotic children who belie their age is heart-touching, and it is with pride that we say 'Well done!'" Later there occurs a plainly inflammatory passage: "...When the homeland is in distress and its soil encroached upon, the descendants of Babek, Ker-ogly, Dzhevanshir, Nabi, and Khadzhar are ready to fight and perform heroic deeds on the people's behalf." There is no mention that it is the duty of schoolchildren to attend school. Perhaps the Komsomol Central Committee and the republic council of pioneer organizations of Azerbaijan will make an appropriate assessment of the "patriotism in short pants" demonstrated by the author and the editor of the newspaper, A. Balayev!?

It is now known that A. Manucharov, director of the Stepanakert Construction Materials Combine, has been arrested by investigation agencies. He has been charged with bribery and embezzlement on a particularly large scale. Arkadiy Manucharov is the leader of the disbanded "Krunk" committee and headed the council of Stepanakert enterprise leaders. The investigation is being carried out by the USSR Prosecutor's Office.

Tension in the republic is being fueled by a group of refugees from Armenia. Some of them give inaccurate, clearly exaggerated accounts of brutal treatment they suffered in Armenia in a bid for sympathy.

A serviceman has been insulted. The culprit has been detained for 30 days under administrative procedure. A similar measure has been applied to several hooligans who prevented citizens' reporting to work. More than 600 people have been detained for breach of curfew. Cases of sabotage on oil fields in Leninskiy Rayon have been detected. The malefactors slashed 300 oil pumping-jack drive belts.

Troops have the situation under complete control. The population is actively helping servicemen keep order.

Losses Result From Disturbances
LD0112175988 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
0204 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] For the 2d month our republic and our capital are experiencing difficult and dramatic days. The situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and the attitude toward Azerbaijanis living in Armenia justifiably infuriate all of our people and representatives of all nationalities living in our republic. The citizens of our republic regard these and other facts as a blow against people's rights, honor, and dignity. They are correct in assessing actions such as indirect defiance, defying the main aim, disrupting stabilization in Azerbaijan, and striking a blow against friendly neighbor peoples who have lived next to each other for centuries as provocative. All of these things led to mass demonstrations, meetings, and strikes. The people of the republic hope to attract in this way the indignation of the country, to solve in the shortest time all conflicts which have built up, and to achieve the acceptance of the demands put forward.

Of course, all of these forms of expression are natural for people to express their will, especially at present, at a time of democratization and a time of increased political awareness, at a time when people—perhaps for the first time—have felt that they are real participants in social and state affairs, thanks to restructuring.

Together with this, something else worries us. These so-called democratic forms [forma] cause a great deal of harm to the national economy of Baku, of Azerbaijan, and the country as a whole—and thus to every one of us. After all, since such actions make city transportation (more difficult), they disrupt the normal internal harmony of enterprises, departments, and schools and create disorder in the city as well as having grave ecological consequences, and arousing distrust in and worry about tomorrow. So who benefits from these actions from a material and economic point of view?

At the republic's State Statistics Committee, specific data was shown to the correspondent of Azerinform. Last week, because of the idleness of plants, factories, and [word indistinct] enterprises, nearly R60 million of production was not delivered. This means that the country will receive 8,500 less [word indistinct], 1,700 less [word indistinct], 1.8 million meters less of cotton materials, and 280,000 meters less of wollen material than was planned. [word indistinct] production worth R700,000 and R20,000 worth of knitwear have not been produced. Losses in the production of oil and mine equipment are worth R8.4 million. Because of interruptions in public transportation the people of Baku are suffering great difficulties. Thousands of people could not get to work on time and return home on time. For this reason, (?provocateurs) who thought they were implementing their constitutional rights, violated other people's labor rights. Transport organizations of the republic suffered a great loss—more than R1 million.

More than 800 rail cars full of food, construction materials, and the most necessary goods are standing in Kishly and Khurdalan train stations. [words indistinct]

It is worth thinking about the high cost of this idleness. Cost us. The entire burden of losses falls primarily on the workers. During the days of [words indistinct] we were deprived of nearly 300 housing units. The chances of many people to obtain housing were postponed indefinitely. According to estimates, industrial workers alone have lost up to R10 million. Most enterprises [words indistinct]. The main requirement is self-financing. After all, none of these losses will be paid from the all-union budget. In our opinion, the Armenian extremists who are trying to disrupt stabilization, do not (?understand) this. [words indistinct]

Protesters Block Border Exports

PM0112151588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 1 Dec 88 First Edition p 4

[Report by special correspondent Major O. Vladyskin under the general heading "Common Sense Is So Necessary. Our Special Correspondents Report From the Baltic and the Transcaucasus": "Concern in the Border City of Astara"]

[Text] A special situation has existed for a week now in the capital and a number of other cities in the Azerbaijan SSR (since 0000 on 24 November). In Baku, troops are fully in control of the situation, which has allowed it to stabilize. However, it is too early to start talking of any easing of tension—either in the military administration of the Baku City Special District, or in party and soviet bodies, or, it seems, among the demonstrators themselves. In V.I. Lenin Square, thousands of people are constantly gathered, and they only break off their rallies at nightfall.

For the sake of objectivity I must point out that appeals are made from time to time from the rostrum in the square: Don't commit breaches of public order or unfriendly provocative actions against the troops brought into the city, and strictly observe the law and the requirements of orders issued by Colonel General M. Tyagunov, military commandant of the special district. The people of Baku are responding to these appeals. There have been no reports of extremist, provocative actions in the city, with the exception of some insignificant incidents which would also occur in an ordinary situation. But are there any guarantees that the situation will not deteriorate? After all, some of the leaders are still advocating methods of struggling for the satisfaction of their own demands that could have very negative consequences.

"The rallies in Baku are beginning to generate events in other areas," said Major General B. Aleksandrov, deputy commandant of the special district responsible for political affairs.

Alarming news is reaching Baku from many population centers in Azerbaijan. In the city of Sheki several people tried to attack a military patrol. Senior Lieutenant V. Grachev was forced to fire some warning shots. In the city of Lenkoran Warrant Officer E. Samedov apprehended a suspicious-looking man and handed him over to the border guards—in his suitcase they found 14 kilograms of explosive material. And in the border city of Astara demonstrators have blocked a transport highway used by our state for contractual freight shipments to the countries of the Near and Middle East. Hearing about this, we flew there with our photographic correspondent.

From on board the helicopter as it came in to land, we could see a large conglomeration of "Sovtransavto" vehicles. They had come to a standstill at the point where the city is divided in two by the Soviet-Iranian border.

After landing, we learned from border guards that about 200 vehicles in all have been held up here—some on our side of the border and some in the territory of our neighbor to the south. Demonstrators have blocked the exit from the control checkpoint to our side of the border by organizing an endless rally along the lines of the ones staged in Baku.

We approached the "Sovtransavto" drivers.

"We first heard of the disturbances that have begun in Azerbaijan while we were still out of the country," driver Aleksey Stepanovich Kesov said. "We met our comrades coming in the opposite direction. Their headlights, windshields, and radiators were all smashed. Their way had been blocked by a crowd of people when they were leaving the city of Pushkino for Lenkoran. Those people demanded that they turn back. Then they started throwing stones. We found it hard to believe that this sort of thing could be happening in our own country. And now we are trapped...."

Beyond the gates of the control checkpoint we found ourselves surrounded by people with slogans pinned to their clothes, which said "Karabakh" in Azeri.

"We want to be heard by everyone in the country and see our demands fulfilled," several people said almost in unison.

So, what are their demands? The same as those being made by demonstrators in Baku. Their main demand is to prevent the abrogation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution of 18 July 1988 which confirmed that the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast belongs to the Azerbaijan SSR.

This was followed by a heated discussion on the damage caused by illegal construction to the Topkhana nature reserve. We reminded them that the appropriate measures have been taken and the project has been stopped, and we told them, in turn, of the great damage being

done to our fatherland—including considerable foreign currency losses—by people holding up motor traffic here, at Astara. Is this really the way to solve problems?

...On the morning of 30 November, already in Baku again, we got through to Astara on the telephone:

"So, how are things going with you?"

"We have managed to remove the road block," came the reply. "The exit from the control checkpoint is now free. The rally is over. Common sense has won the day, and so it has been decided not to introduce a special situation in the city."

Baku Workers Rebuff Adventurists
*PM0112154588 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 1 Dec 88 p 3*

[Report by our special correspondent V. Andriyanov:
"Baku: Rebuffing the Provocateurs"]

[Text] Lenin Square, so wide, always clean and bright, is unrecognizable today. On its far edge there are rows of tents. All around one sees a variety of slogans, placards, and appeals. When the influx has been at its highest there have been hundreds of thousands of people there. The night before last, it was estimated that around 10,000 remained. The square is a kind of barometer of public opinion. It was there that I heard the refrain addressed to the party committee.

"Shame on Narimanovskiy Party Raykom for not allowing the workers to strike!"

There was a resounding echo: "Shame! Shame! Shame!"

"I took these appeals as approval of our work," Narimanovskiy Party Raykom First Secretary V. Kasumov told me.

The conversation began at eight in the evening; Vagif Kasumovich had already worked a 12-hour day. He had been outside the entrance to the electrical machine-building plant since the morning. He had been a worker himself, and he was an experienced economic manager, so he had decided to talk with people face to face. He changed some people's minds; in some cases he gave people back their self-confidence, in others he helped people to tell the truth from the lies, and make some sense out of the avalanche of rumors.

"Extreme situations provide an instant check on people," Kasumov said. "In a matter of days you find out what each is worth."

The testing time has convinced the secretary that contacts between the raykom and party committees and the masses are poor, and that there is no feedback.

In Narimanovskiy Rayon, one of the biggest in the republic, they had only just started implementing an extensive social program, part of the renewal of Baku. Over 50 enterprises had joined forces and started constructing housing. Now it all has to be postponed.

Everyone assembled here knows the reasons why. The "Azelektromash" Production Association—consumers in the USSR and 40 foreign countries are awaiting its products—has already lost profits totalling R1 million, and another million has gone in penalties. In the rayon and the city as a whole, losses have increased tens and hundreds of times over. The social development fund of Narimanovskiy Rayon enterprises is R400,000 slimmer, and 20 new apartments have failed to materialize. The irresponsible adventurers have on their conscience two dozen postponed new dwellings in the rayon and 300 in the city.

It is eight in the evening. The members of the party raykom bureau, secretaries of party committees, and directors of enterprises were in the first secretary's office. They had come not to report and not to be ticked off—it was a free and, at times, pungent analysis of the situation, the latest observations, and trends. The pickets trying to blockade plants were rebuffed. Some extremists were detained by administrative order for 30 days. (According to a report by Colonel General M. Tyagunov, commandant of the Baku City Special District, in recent days a total of 20 people have been detained by administrative order, and 638 for breaking the curfew.) All enterprises in the district have started work, although by no means at full capacity.

In the past day or two there have been calls for ultimatums to be issued: Remove Armenians from the plants, they say, and we will start work.

"But the workers themselves—Azerbaijanis, Russians, and all the others—have sharply rebuffed the provocateurs who are trying to split the multinational labor collectives," party raykom secretary Zemfira Eminova remarked.

I am sure these words would be endorsed by the thousands and thousands of Baku workers who cherish the sense of international solidarity. But one never thought that one would have to defend them. Well, these days have been a lesson for everyone. For party workers, for economic managers, and for journalists.

On Wednesday, immediately after midnight, Azerbaijan Medical Institute student Namik Zeynalov appeared on republican television. He was one of those who had declared a hunger strike a few days before. Now he had plucked up the courage to say publicly why he was stopping his hunger strike and quitting the square. Namik said that he did not want anything to do with the adventurers who were misleading young people and

driving a wedge into relations between the peoples of our country, in an attempt to use young people's and students' enthusiastic sincerity for their own speculative purposes.

Judging by the fact that classes have resumed at the republic's VUZ's, awareness of this fact is making headway.

While preparing to dictate this report, I called the Narimanovskiy Party Raykom: How are things at the enterprises? I was told that all the plants were operating, six of them at full capacity.

Armenians Fired Illegally in Baku

LD0112183688 *Baku Domestic Service in Azeri*
1500 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Notice by Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] A notice from the military commandant of the Baku City Special District:

Over the past 24 hours the situation in the city has been under control and remains generally calm. However, a number of enterprises connected with communications, commerce, and public transport are still experiencing interruptions, which is hampering normal life in the city. Some managements have taken illegal action and are dismissing people of Armenian nationality from work.

This afternoon urgent measures prevented an attempt by hooligan elements to disrupt public order near the city's railway station by attacking civilian passengers. Weapons had to be used as a warning when the hooligans attacked a sick old woman.

During the night of 30 November-1 December, 404 people were detained and 28 arrested for violating the established regime of the special situation. (?Weapons which were not firearms were confiscated). Attempts to set fire to a residential house were prevented. Sixteen persons were brought to account by administrative order and subsequently detained in special Ministry of Internal Affairs reception centers for 30 days for violating the 23 November USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree. [Name indistinct] from the Institute of Geophysics, who lives in [name indistinct] Rayon, is being criminally charged for possessing [word indistinct] substances.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of Baku City Special District

'Difficult, Emotional' Days Noted

NC0212085688 *Baku Domestic Service in Azeri*
1700 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] It is the 2d week of difficult and emotional days in our republic and capital. Our entire people, including the representatives of all the peoples in our republic, have

been justifiably angered by the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKA0], as well as by the attitude adopted against Azerbaijanis who live in the Armenian SSR. The republic's citizens are justified in regarding these and other facts as deliberate actions against the people's rights, honor, and dignity, and as instigatory activities, the main objective of which is to challenge, disrupt peace in Azerbaijan, and deal a blow to the traditional good-neighborly relations between peoples who have coexisted for centuries.

All of this is the cause of the mass demonstrations, meetings, and shutdowns with which the republic's people hope to attract the attention of the country, resolve all rivalries within a short period of time, and secure the speedy approval of the demands that have been put forward.

All forms through which the people have been expressing their will are normal. Probably, due to the broadening of democratization and the strengthening of the concept of political self as a result of restructuring, the people feel themselves to be genuinely participating in social work and state affairs for the first time in many years.

Nevertheless, there is another point which concerns the people—namely, what is the extent of the economic losses which these forms of expression, which may be described as democratic, are inflicting on Baku and Azerbaijan, on the republic's economic domain, and on each and every one of the people? These developments not only create difficulties with regard to the city's transportation work, but they also disrupt normal work harmony in establishments, administrations, and schools; cause disorders in streets; and create serious psychological conditions and a lack of confidence in and unease over the future.

What are the economic and [word indistinct] results of these activities? Concrete figures were made available to an AZERINFORM correspondent at the republic's State Statistics Committee. Products worth approximately R60 million were not manufactured as a result of stoppages in factories and plants and in (?productive) field establishments. This means that the country will be short 8,500 [word indistinct], 1,700 refrigerators, 1.8 million meters of cotton cloth, and 280,000 meters of wollen fabrics. Tailored products worth R700,000 and textile materials worth R520,000 have not been produced. The [word indistinct] in the production of oil and mining instruments totals R8.5 million.

The residents of Baku have had to deal with many difficulties because of delays in public transportation. Thousands of people were unable to start work and return home on time. The strikers, who believed that they were realizing their constitutional rights, actually disrupted their own right to work.

The republic's transportation organizations suffered great losses, in fact, more than R1 million. More than 800 railway cars loaded with the most essential goods, such as provisions and construction materials, stand idle in the [name indistinct] and Khurdalan railway stations. The following example can be given to those who consider R60 million as [word indistinct]: It would have been possible to construct [words indistinct] or 30 schools, each capable of accommodating 1,200 students, or 90 kindergartens. Therefore, we can say that it is worth thinking about the cost of remaining idle.

The entire weight of [words indistinct]. We have been deprived of around 300 residential buildings during the days of [word indistinct] democracy. Many people have had their turn to receive residential buildings indefinitely postponed. According to estimates, industrial workers alone lost up to R10 million in wages. Many establishments have begun to operate on the basis of economic measures, the main demand of which is self-financing. These losses will not be paid for from the all-union budget.

This was the goal of Armenian extremists when they tried to disrupt peace in Baku. [sentence indistinct]

Republic 'Returning to Normal'

NC0212061288 Baku Domestic Service in Russian
0449 GMT 2 Dec 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] According to an AZERINFORM report, the situation in most of the cities of the republic is returning to normal. The papers carry material from Nakhichevan, Lenkoran, Sheki, and Baku stating that life is gradually returning to its normal course and that a considerable number of enterprises have resumed work.

Kirovabad Situation Stabilizing

PM0112153388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 1 Dec 88 First Edition p 4

[Lieutenant Colonel N. Burbyga report under the general heading "Common Sense Is So Necessary. Our Special Correspondents Report from the Baltic and the Transcaucasus": "Enterprises Working"]

[Text] The situation in Kirovabad is gradually stabilizing. The situation at midday 30 November was described by Major General V. Omelchenko, commander of the special district:

"There have been no crimes or serious violations in the city over the past 24 hours. All enterprises are working today, although they are experiencing difficulties. People of Armenian nationality have not yet decided to return to work. It seems that there is still not complete confidence in the organs of power, or a sense of security. There are considerable problems with refugees."

Legal Official Interviewed on NKAO Conflict

LD0112135388 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1130 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Baku, 1 Dec (TASS)—Aleksandr Katusev, deputy USSR prosecutor general and state legal adviser, first class, has answered questions from TASS correspondents on events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh.

Question: It seems that people are concerned about what is really happening in republics and individual regions. Various, often quite incredible rumors spread, heating up the atmosphere even more.

Answer: Unfortunately, in a number of places such as Nakhichevan, Kirovobad, Sheki, and Zakataly, hooligan elements have provoked mass disorders. Stirred up by nationalist and other inciting slogans, uncontrolled groups have committed a number of crimes, and there have been human casualties. All of this is being investigated by a group from the USSR procurators' office, headed by A. Kondryatev, an investigator of especially serious affairs of the USSR general procurator's office. I must say that procurators and investigators from almost all regions of the country, and staff from other law-enforcement organs, have gathered in the republic. Procuracy investigators of the Azerbaijan SSR are looking into a number of cases. Several criminals have already been arrested.

I would like to note that mass disorders entailing casualties have also taken place in individual settlements in the Armenian SSR. Criminal proceedings have also been instituted there. Measures are being taken for the timely exposure and punishment of the culprits. No crime must remain unpunished.

Question: You mentioned the danger of incitement. It is known that appeals of a nationalist persuasion are now being made both in Azerbaijan and Armenia. Are these people liable?

Answer: Certainly. And, I would stress, criminally liable. Indeed, the USSR Constitution stipulates that any advocacy of racial or national exclusivity, enmity or contempt is punishable by law. This is precisely why the criminal legislation of the Azerbaijan SSR has pronounced infringement of national and racial equality a crime.

According to the republic's criminal code, propaganda or agitation with the aim of arousing national enmity is punishable by from 6 months to 3 years imprisonment, or exile for from 2 to 5 years. Similar criminal responsibility for these kinds of crimes is dictated by the legislation of other union republics, too.

It is evidence of the particular danger of these crimes that the legislature has categorized them as state crimes. Of course, in a society founded upon the fraternal friendship of peoples, any other approach to such socially dangerous activity cannot exist.

Question: The public has been called upon to hand in firearms, other weapons, ammunition, and other instruments intended to inflict harm on fit citizens. Could there be legal prosecutions here?

Answer: This is very important. In the inflamed situation which has developed, in which emotions frequently gain the upper hand over reason, you'll agree with me that it is not safe to have weapons. Talking about legal prosecutions, I should note that in accordance with Article 220 of the Azerbaijan SSR Criminal Code, Article 232 of the Armenian SSR Criminal Code, and the corresponding articles of the criminal codes of other Union republics, illegally bearing, keeping, acquiring, manufacturing or marketing firearms, as well as all other weapons, is a criminal offense. However, people who voluntarily hand in their weapons are being released from such responsibility. I therefore appeal to the entire population of the republic to hand in weapons in their possession to the authorities.

Question: It has been said from the rostrum of a meeting in the central square in Baku that the procuracy has arrested the founder and leader of the Krunk society Manucharov. Is this true?

Answer: Yes, Manucharov has been arrested. But not for leading Krunk. Rather, for completely different reasons. Investigation has established that he headed an organized group of pilferers of the national wealth which succeeded in pocketing particularly large amounts of state funds. His accomplices were also arrested.

It should be said that these people turned the building materials combine in Stepanakert—of which Manucharov was director for 10 years—and the citizens' services bureau into sources of non-labor income. They stole marble and granite and took bribes to put up grave-stones.

The court will establish the extent of their guilt. At present there is sufficient evidence to charge them with theft.

In view of the need to preserve the secrecy of the inquiry, I will refrain from a more detailed review of this case. However, I cannot but stress that Manucharov and his accomplices made money out of human sorrow, stealing expensive building materials and accepting bribes to put up gravestones.

Unique NKAO Topkhana Nature Reserve Restored

PM2811102388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
28 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Topkhana Acquires Original Appearance"]

[Text] Baku-Stepanakert, 27 Nov—Excavators, hoisting mechanisms, and welding equipment have been removed from the territory of the Topkhana nature reserve in Shushinskiy Rayon, Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

Today the all-union resort zone, unique in its exclusiveness and beauty, is acquiring its original appearance and is being cleared of the construction materials and pink tufa bricks delivered here from Armenia to erect a cooperative shop for the Kanaker aluminum plant and a boarding house for its workers.

Unfortunately, back in the summer, when the bulldozer had only just begun its destructive work here, the leaders of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast failed to take account of public opinion protesting the strange and hasty decision. Many people at the time warned the autonomous oblast's party and soviet organs of the unpredictable consequences of their unconsidered action. Alas, they did not heed the voice of common sense. Equipment poured into the conservation zone and roads and foundation ditches appeared on the face of the unique mountain. Naturally all this threatened to disrupt the ecological balance and destroy plants entered in the Red Book of endangered species.

Thus a new seat of tension was created. The fate of Topkhana became one of the main reasons for meetings of many thousands of people lasting many days in Baku and other cities of the Azerbaijan SSR.

Reason and justice finally triumphed. The trucks with their final loads set off in the opposite direction from Topkhana. The wounds inflicted on the land will soon be healed and the soil, where it has been violated, has been recultivated and the unique vegetation destroyed by the equipment has been restored.

Construction in Topkhana Halted

NC2811150788 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
0440 GMT 27 Nov 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] According to an AZERINFORM report, which was carried by the newspapers today, the situation in the Topkhana region in Shushinskiy Rayon has changed considerably. It is common knowledge that an effort was made to set up a branch of the Armenian SSR's Kanaker Aluminum Factory and residential quarters for its workers in the Topkhana region. This created justified rage and anger in our republic as a whole.

An AZERINFORM correspondent contacted Second Secretary of Shushinskiy Raykom (Mukhtar Rayonbas) by telephone. He said that all the technical material in the construction sites in the Topkhana forest, including [word indistinct], tractors, machinery, compressors, and other machinery pieces were removed with the help of various groups during the day on 26 November. Plans have been made to remove the construction materials that would have been used for the construction of the factory branch on 27 November. The land will be [words indistinct]. The (?removal) of the harm done to the state will require many years.

Georgia-Azerbaijan Telecommunications Planned
LD2911123688 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
0330 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Text] In regard to the CPSU Central Committee plenum on perfecting the questions of interethnic relations:

Soon, residents of Georgian villages in Zakatala, Balakent, and (?Gakh) Rayons of Azerbaijan will watch Tbilisi television broadcasts, and Azerbaijanis living in Georgia will be able to watch the television programs broadcast from Baku. Because of this, the relay stations of the fraternal republics will be reinstalled technically. Communications workers of the two republics met in Zakatala. Akhundov, communications minister of the Azerbaijan SSR, and Kabakhidze, communications minister of the Georgia SSR, visited a number of villages of Zakatala and (?Gakh) Rayons, held talks with residents, and defined their demands for telephone installations and intercity communications equipment.

As a result of the visit, a comprehensive program for the development of telephone communications was prepared. The program envisages installation of new automatic telephone exchanges and the expansion of old ones. As a result of this, residents of this region of Azerbaijan will soon be able to establish communications via the capital of fraternal Georgia with required places in the Soviet Union.

Party, Public Figures Promote Georgian Calm
PM0112154788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
1 Dec 88 First Edition p 4

[Colonel N. Mulyar report under the general heading "Common Sense Is So Necessary. Our Special Correspondents Report from the Baltic and the Transcaucasus": "When Things Are Calm on the Streets"]

[Text] Calm has returned to Tbilisi after several tense days. This is reflected in people's faces. There are more smiles around. Traffic is now moving again on Rustaveli Prospekt, which had previously been closed off because of the unsanctioned rallies organized by certain individuals and informal associations outside Government House.

The normalization of the situation in the capital has been promoted by the active position and great explanatory work done by the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers. Prominent public figures, writers, scientists, and law enforcement organ workers took part in this work. They could be seen at the university, institutes, and mingling with young people in the streets. As required by the times, they held discussions and talks and answered numerous questions.

Yesterday and today there have been lines outside "Soyuzpechat" kiosks. Tbilisi people have been buying up newspapers and studying and ardently discussing items on the extraordinary 12th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the report by M.S. Gorbachev. People see the report as a wide-ranging program for the further democratization of our life and the creation of conditions for the implementation of genuine people's power, the strengthening of the sovereignty of the republic and our entire union, and the assertion of a real rule-of-law state.

Turkmenistan Party Plenum Confirms New Posts
LD2511173888 Ashkhabad Domestic Service
in Russian 1513 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] The 8th plenum of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee took place today.

The plenum examined the question of reorganizing the structure and the tasks for restructuring the work of the apparatus of the Republic's party bodies in light of the July and September 1988 plenums of the CPSU Central Committee.

A report was delivered by First Secretary of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee Comrade Niyazov.

The plenum resolved to reorganize the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee to include the following departments:

- an Organizational Party and Cadre Work Department;
- an Ideological Department;
- a Constitutional Law [gosudarstvenno-pravovoy] Department;
- a Socioeconomic Department;
- an Agrarian Department;
- a General Department; in addition to a Party Control Commission and an Administration of Affairs.

The plenum examined the formation of commissions of the Central Committee of the Turkmenistan Communist Party and found it expedient to have:

- a Commission for Constitutional Law Matters;
- a Commission for Organizational Party and Cadre Work;
- an Ideological Commission;
- a Commission on Socioeconomic Development;
- a Commission on the Agro-Industrial Complex.

The plenum passed on appropriate decisions on the questions discussed.

The plenum examined organizational matters.

The plenum relieved Zhulenev of his duties as member of the Bureau and Secretary of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee in connection with his retirement on pension.

The plenum relieved Kharkov of his duties as member of the Bureau of the Central Committee and chairman of the Party Control commission of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee in connection with his retirement on pension.

The plenum relieved Orazov of his duties as secretary of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee in connection with his transfer to another job.

The plenum elected Rebrik member of the Bureau and secretary of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee. In connection with the new structure of the Central Committee apparatus the following appointments were confirmed:

- Otchertsov as chief of the Organizational Party and Cadre Work Department;
- Suyunov as chief of the Ideological Department;
- (Khardzhayev) as chief of the Socioeconomic Department;
- Kruglyakov as chief of the Agrarian Department;
- (Bogoletnikov) as chief of the Constitutional Law Department;
- (Zhurminik) as chief of the Central Department;
- (Pirmukhamedov) as chairman of the Party Control Commission of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee; and

—Zhadan as administrator of affairs of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee.

The Plenum has expelled Annamuradov from the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee for failing to take measures to strengthen party and state discipline, lack of principles, and a compromising attitude towards over-reporting, falsification of accounts, and deceit of the state, and serious shortcomings committed in selecting and deploying cadres, while serving as first secretary of the Karabekaul Rayon Party Committee.

The Plenum relieved (Ovliyakuliyev), (Demenchukov), and (Klyatkin) of their duties as members of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee in connection with the applications submitted by them.

Press Coverage of Baltic Crises Criticized

PM3011142288 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 48, 27 Nov 88 p 15

[Vitaliy Marsov article: "The Press And Controversy"]

[Text] Can one get an objective picture of what is happening in Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia by reading our press?

At first there were precise reports about Baltic movements to support perestroyka—the Popular Fronts in Estonia and Latvia and the Sajudis in Lithuania. These reports were followed by feeble attempts to analyze these movements' manifestoes.

Then events took an unexpected turn: after the October 22 and 23 publications of projected amendments to the USSR Constitution and the election law, the Baltic movements came out against the proposed amendments. The press was silent and the information gap was filled with speculations and rumours.

Paradoxically, we now know more about what is going on in Afghanistan than in our three Baltic Republics. Thus the new amendment to Article 74 of Estonia's Constitution passed by the Republic's Supreme Soviet and some other documents came as a rude awakening. The reports in the central (Moscow-based) press were incomplete and extremely contradictory.

Pravda (Nov. 19), article by Procurator of the Latvian SSR J. Dzenitis: "Matters have come to such a pass that many of them (Popular Front leaders and activists—V.M.) have categorically (in the form of an ultimatum) demanded that the bills be entirely rejected thus cutting short the political reform initiated by the CPSU.... Chairman of the Popular Front of Latvia, member of the CPSU D. Ivans appeared on Latvian TV calling for mass protests against the bills."

Komsomolskaya Pravda (Nov. 21), interview with D. Ivans: "Let me quote the first lines from our Charter: 'The Popular Front of Latvia (PFL) is a mass public political organization of the Republic resulting from patriotic activity of the people. It actively supports and takes part in the radical reconstruction of our society in line with the provisions of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union Party Conference.'"

Only one thing is clear today and that is that the session of the Supreme Soviet of Estonia accepted documents which were ruled (preliminarily) unconstitutional by the USSR Supreme Soviet. The November 18 session of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania, according to a TASS report, "failed to support decisions at variance with the current USSR Constitution". (Latvia's Supreme Soviet convenes November 22 when we go to press.)

Our readers are largely unaware of how the Baltic Republics reached their decisions.

Before me are recent editions of the national dailies. The front pages are full of reports from India along with mostly insignificant communications from other countries. Gorbachev's visit to India is, of course, a front-page event. But so is the situation in the Soviet Baltic Republics! Dozens of special Soviet correspondents were dispatched to Delhi. They sent back exciting press and TV reports. How many correspondents were sent to Tallinn, Vilnius or Riga? Judging from the absence of prompt and complete information, very few or none at all. Meanwhile Baltic-based correspondents were conspicuously reticent.

Moscow News was among the first papers to report the founding of Popular Fronts in the Baltic Republics. But this was when these organizations were still relatively uncontroversial. As soon as conflicts arose, MN did little to distinguish itself from other papers.

Yes, the USSR has established a smooth-running system of glasnost which at times amazes even the Western press. The trouble is that the system has skidded in a number of extreme situations. First in Chernobyl, then in Sumgait, Stepanakert and Yerevan. Our Moscow-based national dailies reported from those places mainly after the fact. Ditto the Baltic Republics. This suggests that we are still not ready politically to be in the readers' service when the waters of socialist democracy are troubled.

There seems to have been no dearth of media reports on these events in the Baltic Republics themselves. There were complaints that the press in the national languages reported one thing while the press in Russian reported something else. The Popular Front in Estonia has access to all the rostrums while the intermovement and the Amalgamated Council of Production Collectives has access to almost none.

Thus the tendency in Moscow is still to give short shrift to "unpleasant" information. The tendency in the Baltic Republics is different—pluralism of certain views and limits on others. There are several reasons for this situation. The first is the adherence to the ideas of the popular fronts of most people in the Baltic Republics; especially of intellectuals with access to the press, microphones or TV cameras. Hence the intentionally or unintentionally biased attitude towards those who think otherwise.

The second reason is perhaps the reaction to the sluggish Moscow-based press, which tends to first give the information that it (or someone else) regards as correct rather than all the information, all the points of view.

The third reason is that our media are ossified. Isn't it sad that Estonia's intermovement has no mouthpiece of its own? Why not get one or even more and quickly? Why not start a daily? Or give it its own TV Channel? This, of course, means turning for help to the many government agencies with unpredictable results. Truly our past kicks back.

The press is supposed to be a mirror of events, not a reducing or magnifying glass. Lenin urged journalists to write the history of their times. History without events is sheer nonsense. Journalism without the history of events can of course drive people, but it can never promote perestroika and democratization. I will not analyze the events in the Baltic Republics. Nor will I analyze the pros and cons of the proposed amendments to the constitution. My point is the media's role in covering these problems. I'm sorry to say. I have some strange feelings. Sometimes (most times perhaps) I want to shout like Stanislavski: "I don't believe it!"

Take the interview with deputy of Estonia's Supreme Soviet Vasilii Koltakov in Pravda (Nov. 20). It was headlined "Why I voted against." A good headline. And it is good that a national paper reported the opinion of one of the seven deputies who voted against the amendment to Article 74 of Estonia's Constitution passed by the Republic's Supreme Soviet. But the overwhelming majority voted for the amendment! Where can we read their arguments?

At one time our press reflected what the majority thought because the majority was ever in the right. Is the minority now in the right? So the press only presents the minority view? And we should be amazed that Estonian papers carry interviews with those who voted for the amendment? Is it simply that they have learned the rules taught them over decades?

Why not first give all the facts, then say what the people involved think and only then analyze the situation.

Finally, isn't it time to found an institute of parliamentary correspondents whose job would be to cover events like the ones today? Perhaps the whole problems is the

absence of those who can professionally write about MP's, who argue with each other because they are trying to do something, deputies of our Supreme Soviets?

Estonians Warned Against Excess Haste
PM0112144588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 1 Dec 88 Fi 1st Edition p 4

[Major Yu. Rubstov telephone report under the general heading "Common Sense Is So Necessary. Our Special Correspondents Report from the Baltic and the Transcaucasus": "What Might Haste Lead To?"]

[Text] Vilnius, 30 Nov—The entrance to the "headquarters" of "Sajudis"—the Lithuanian movement for restructuring—was blocked off by a small group of people heatedly discussing something. The source of the excitement was pinned to the door: the text of a telegram addressed to M.S. Gorbachev. Since the amendments and additions to the draft laws submitted for discussion by the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and discussed at its 26 November Presidium session are unknown to the masses, the text said, they should not be ratified without a preliminary nationwide discussion. Deputies are already hard at work in Moscow, but nonetheless people have gathered here to protest.

"This was not our initiative," A. Myadalinskas, member of the "Sajudis" Sejm Council, immediately warned me. "We were approached by people who expressed a desire to send such a telegram to Moscow. We just helped them compile a grammatical text."

I asked how it was that the previous day "Sajudis" activists had tried to organize similar missives to certain enterprises in Moscow. There was an equally categorical denial. My interlocutor did not rule out the possibility that some people—as has already happened on more than one occasion—had hidden behind the "Movement" to exploit its popularity for their own ends.

"Recent events have caused nervousness and an upsurge of unnecessary emotions. We oppose them. That is why we are striving to hold fewer rallies and to give up picketing."

Suddenly Alvidas—that was my interlocutor's name—complained that relations with the press had become more complex and that last week "Sajudis" was refused a "legitimate" 90 minutes of television airtime.

Of course, this was unpleasant for "Sajudis," which has latterly grown accustomed to having a broad platform. Just as the scathing assessment made by the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau of the "unrealistic political demands and raucous antistate actions" prevailing in the activity of some of its leaders was unpleasant. But let us think: Is not the movement itself to blame for this? After all, everything in its arsenal

corresponds to democracy and glasnost, which the movement has depicted on its banners. What was the point, for instance, in mounting open pressure on deputies and even threatening to strive for the convening of an extraordinary session of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet and the adoption of amendments to the present Lithuanian Constitution which would mean confrontation with the USSR Constitution.

To be blunt, this was exactly the situation discussed at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session: when people try not only to make their opinions known to certain organs but also to impose that opinion, bring pressure to bear, and distort the working people's will. And that is no longer democracy.

A further conversation, in which Virgiliyus Chepaytis, senior secretary of the Sejm Council, took part, showed that if my interlocutors seemed sincerely bitter about the unhealthy emotions that had flared up, they remained unshakable with regard to their understanding of the essence of the goals of their movement. This also applies to the idea of the immediate introduction of republic economic accountability [khozraschet] without any elaboration, and the safeguarding of what they see as the republic's sovereignty, whereby USSR law would apply on Lithuanian territory only if it did not contravene republican law. That is, virtually the entire range of issues which were cogently criticized with regard to Estonia's stance at the recent USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session. It turns out that the position of the country's supreme organ of power did not affect my interlocutors. Moreover, one of them stated bluntly that they supported Estonia's viewpoint.

Strong convictions always deserve respect. But it seems that this is something else. For instance, with regard to the improvement of relations between central authorities and the union republics, the "Sajudis" members are demanding something that is not being refused.

"'Sajudis' is clearly being hasty in this instance," was how V. Gerzhonas, chief of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Administrative Organs Department, assessed the prevailing situation in conversation with this correspondent. "But hasty decisions will only be harmful."

This opinion is shared by many of the inhabitants of the republic with whom I have met recently. Many people have been expressing the opinion that it is important to harmonize "relations between Vilnius and Moscow," but that domestic issues should also first be resolved in a better-conceived manner and without haste. Engineer V. Gavrilov, for instance, believes that not all the consequences of the recent proclamation of Lithuanian as the state language have been taken into account. For instance, it is now planned to draw up all technical

documentation in Lithuanian. In this instance the rejection of Russian as the language of ethnic discourse will, in Gavrilov's opinion, doom the republic's scientific and technical sphere to insularity or, at best, major shortcomings.

"It is impermissible for certain republics to have the right to accept or reject USSR laws," was the opinion of I. Bogdanovas, personal pensioner and veteran of the 16th Lithuanian Division. "I was resolutely opposed to the 'Sajudis' amendments to the republic's Constitution—amendments which have essentially placed it outside the framework of our union state."

Needless to say, differing opinions were expressed too. Many people were very impatient and wanted to skip the necessary stages. When you consider this you cannot help remembering a reader's opinion published in a local newspaper.

"If you keep pulling at flowers, will they grow any faster?" he asked reasonably.

Meanwhile the republic continues its normal working routine. Information phoned in from party and soviet organs in Klaypeda, Shyaulay, and Panevezhis proves that people are following the progress of the country's Supreme Soviet session with enormous attention.

New Estonian Socioeconomic Council

PM0112153588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Dec 88 Second Edition p 8

[TASS report: "Conference Held"]

[Text] Tallinn, 30 Nov—The constituent conference of a republic socioeconomic organization—the United Council of Production Collectives—was held today at the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Political Education Center.

Collectives of enterprises in various sectors of the national economy located on Estonian SSR territory have joined it along voluntary lines, without regard to departmental allegiance. In such a community of collectives it will be easier to resolve tasks of restructuring the economy, to introduce economic accountability [khozraschet], and to implement social programs on a cooperative basis.

The council's aims are to assert the principles of proletarian internationalism in the republic's labor collectives, to foster in working people a respectful attitude to other peoples' traditions and customs, to create in the work environment an atmosphere of intolerance toward any manifestations of discrimination on grounds of nationality and language, and to prevent confrontation between working people. The exercise of the powers and

rights of labor collectives in discussing state and social affairs and the enhancement of the political activeness of the working class occupy an important place in the council's activity.

Representatives of more than 100 Estonian enterprises participated in the constituent conference. They approved the statutes and program of the United Council of Production Collectives and elected a standing council and its working organ—the presidium.

Medvedev Addresses Latvian University Students
PM3011162788 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA
in Russian 16 Nov 88 pp 1-3

[LATINFORM report: "Lofty Guidelines for Higher Education. V.A. Medvedev's Meeting With Students and VUZ Teachers"]

[Excerpts] V.A. Medvedev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited the Latvian State University named for P. Stuchka. He met with a group of students from a number of faculties in the P. Stuchka Memorial Hall. Yu.R. Zakis, rector of Latvian State University, moderated the meeting. [passage omitted]

Then V.A. Medvedev delivered a speech.

This meeting is of particular significance for me. I have had occasion at different times to play all the three roles that you here represent. I have worked in the social science department in VUZ's. I was a rector, admittedly, at a specific educational establishment—the Academy of Social Sciences. And as a Communist, I was elected to the party committee for many years. That is why what was said here about the work of higher educational establishments, their needs, requirements, and problems is something close to my heart and intelligible to me. A great deal has been said. I think that if we were to continue this discussion, a great many more problems requiring resolution that have accumulated over the years and decades would come to light.

Nevertheless in my own way I envy you—the people who are now working with young students. In the neighboring lecture hall I once again got an acute sense just now of how bold, open, thoughtful, and exacting today's student has become. In this situation it is particularly gratifying to work with young students and it is particularly important to make a worthy contribution to molding our country's future specialists and active citizens. This is a worthwhile mission both because it is interesting and also because its complexities have increased many times over now. It is more complex to discuss and more complex to persuade. It is only through persuasion now that we can achieve success in our work.

I was told about the problems linked with military service and students' military training in the departments. Incidentally, this question is being raised by

students, too, and in an even more acute form. I must say first of all that the party Central Committee together with the appropriate ministries is now examining the range of problems linked with this. All have an interest in a positive solution: the Ministry of Defense, the State Committee for Public Education, and the sectorial ministries and departments that receive cadre recruitments from VUZ's. A great many complexities are interwoven here. That is why it is not so easy to resolve. Especially since the demographic curve is now on the decline—there is an absolute diminution in the numerical strength of certain age groups, and there is a link between this and the manning and numerical strength of the Armed Forces.

In the long term the fundamental solution of the question broached will be linked with how our affairs shape up in the international arena and what successes we manage to achieve in detente and in normalizing international relations, and will depend on what practical steps and within what timeframe we succeed in quantitatively reducing our military potential and the numerical strength of our Armed Forces. Our military doctrine is also undergoing profound study in this respect now. There will possibly be major decisions here.

It would seem that from the viewpoint of cadre training it would be advisable to serve in the army either before or after admission to a VUZ. But this doesn't happen. For 17-year old youths cannot be drafted—medicine is categorically against this. But if we gear ourselves to VUZ graduates, how are the Armed Forces to be filled for 5 years? It is unreasonable to take a young specialist who has only just received a diploma away from practical work without enabling him to consolidate his knowledge.

In short, everything must be given careful consideration. Order must be urgently restored in the matter of officer service and officer training directly at VUZ's. The wish that officer training be carried out in line with students' vocational specialties will be conveyed to our military bodies. It is also necessary to resolve questions connected with this kind of training at VUZ's for those people who have performed active military service as well.

All this is at the examination stage. Decisions will be adopted in the immediate future.

Our colleagues working in social science departments are in a complex situation, above all because changes in our ideas and understanding of modern problems and historical processes are taking place extremely rapidly—and likewise in our ideas about the aims and prospects for our advance.

An attempt to formulate these ideas was made at the 19th all-union party conference. It cannot be said that we have no arms. We are armed, but this is, of course, inadequate for educational work.

A VUZ philosophy textbook has been prepared and produced in the middle of this year. It will be published in 2-3 months in some areas or possibly even earlier.

I talked in detail today with the students about the new CPSU history textbook or, more precisely, about essays on party history. Let me just remind you that the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission on Rehabilitation is working intensively now. Its composition has changed somewhat recently, in connection with the recent changes in the Central Committee leadership. Many cases must be examined, everything must be finalized, and all the i's must be dotted. I don't know whether the commission will manage to reach every victim. Obviously even more intensive work will be required with reliance on the localities. However hard, however heart-rending, and however difficult this may be, the work of rehabilitation must be concluded. This is simply our duty to our party conscience, our duty to history, to our people, and to the peoples of other countries. There's no escaping it.

And that is why the decision has been taken to compile essays on the history of the CPSU rather than a textbook at present. This is so that the history of the CPSU can be studied at VUZ's not just because it is incorporated as a subject in the educational curriculum but because our young people are showing an interest in it. That is why, complex as it may be, we must have an attentive attitude toward social sciences and draw in the materials that are published in our periodical press. Although we must grow accustomed to the fact that not everything the latter publishes is an ultimate truth.

We are now getting readers to break away from the ingrained habit of passing off and perceiving an author's every printed word as the official party position. This is incorrect. But at the same time we are also trying to work with our journalists, in order to avoid and prevent excesses and exaggeration of everything that comes within their grasp. For if someone publishes something that Khrushchev, for instance, once said somewhere, the readers are forced to place reliance on how it looks coming from the pen of his immediate relatives. That kind of literature will also be published. We are not about to bar the way to it. But memoirs must be treated as memoirs, bearing in mind that they are a subjective view and purely personal assessments that may contain inaccuracies and mistakes.

It was previously the practice in our country to put an official stamp on such material thus certifying to their correctness. These supervisory organs would have to be augmented many times over in order to ensure that they could fulfill this function. This is physically impossible and unnecessary now. An active stance on the part of editors and authors and their civic stance in selecting this kind of material and ensuring that various inferior subjectivist articles—which are unfortunately getting through—do not become the property of public opinion

is of great significance. I'm talking about the central press. Work is under way now in this area and there have already been some changes, but this kind of article still does appear there.

That, in brief, is what there is to be said about textbooks. And it is quite right that locally prepared and published materials should be an important aid in educational work. There cannot be any mistrust toward our cadres. Textbooks must be produced—and this may even include the publication of some study aids—this might even be done in printed form. Yet in a number of cases it is more advisable to have a small print run. These textbooks must have a trial run and be approved by students before being sent to press on a broad scale.

A decision has been prepared to allow publishing houses to produce this kind of scientific and methodical publication—under the supervision, of course, of VUZ rectors and the appropriate departments in the union republics.

Now a word about certain features connected with the sociopolitical situation in the republic and interethnic problems. They were also voiced in a very weighty fashion during our meeting with you.

Serious problems have come to a head in the sphere of interethnic relations in the country. The theme of the development of national republics, including yours, is the leitmotiv of all the meetings and debates that have been taking place here of late. A continual discussion process is under way. That is very good.

The comrades who have spoken here analyzed the sources of these problems and the socioeconomic prospects. I have already had occasion to express my views on this subject on several occasions. I can, in fact, understand your concern in connection with the complex demographic processes that are taking place in the republic.

I will not begin to start analyzing now who is at fault here. I think that we must concentrate attention on seeking correct ways to resolve these problems and on resolving them constructively—resolving them in accordance with the distinctive features of the moment, of the restructuring that we are experiencing.

We must move on from disputes and debates and emotions to the practical solution of the problems that crop up. I will say just one thing here. I think that it would be a mistake to try to resolve these and other problems by any administrative methods or even by legislative measures, although many questions of legislation and administrative questions must also be resolved. In this case it is a question of not forgetting the processes that, I believe, previously developed spontaneously, uncontrollably, and without analysis. We must analyze them and influence them.

I agree that it would be correct to link the solution of demographic problems with a drastic shift in public opinion. Notions about what is taking place will change and become fuller and more accurate, and it will be clearer what should be done and how.

The fixed capital in the republic is among the oldest in the country. Scientific and technical progress is also arousing serious concern. Very many people are employed, even at enterprises that are spearheading technical progress. People say: There is automated technology in such and such a place but the workshops are full of people. We were shown new installations and new automatic units manufacturing microelectronics. But we probably need to work more insistently on this plane. I don't know whether the following figure is correct: namely, that 20-25 percent of capital investments are spent on the reconstruction and renewal of enterprises. If this figure is right, it's no good. What about the course, the general course of reorientation in the sphere of capital investments and the course of renewing and reconstructing enterprises? This figure is considerably lower even than that for the Soviet Union as a whole. I think that this is where there is a foundation for resolving social issues and interethnic problems, including the problems of expanded reproduction of the national working class and scientific and technical intelligentsia. It is necessary for everyone to devote themselves to this but particularly the republic's leadership without fail.

People say that union ministries impose the construction of enterprises on them without consideration for the development of the social infrastructure, the existing labor force and so on. The situation is changing now. Now people are saying: So how can the republic's problems be resolved if a USSR Council of Ministers decision has to be executed throughout the territory of the Soviet Union? I think that this constitutional norm presents no obstacle to ensuring that the republic resolves its own problems itself. Why? Because henceforth there must be order, and it must be consolidated in every possible way: No decision that affects the republic should be taken by the Council of Ministers without the consent of the republic. This procedure also existed before, pro forma, but it was evidently not observed.

So, a decision must not be taken without consent. But when it is adopted everyone is obliged to fulfill it. This is the point of boosting the role of the soviets—both at republic and local level, rather than transferring union industry completely to the republic. Why do you need this? If industry is confined solely to meeting the republic's requirements, I said to the students, this will mean the end of scientific and technical progress. All world practice indicates that success in scientific and technical progress can only be achieved now on the basis of interregional integration and even on the basis of international integration.

As regards language. I have already expressed my views on this problem yesterday at a meeting with workers. Every one of us has a correct understanding of Lenin's

stance on questions of national cultures and interethnic language. This boils down to one thing: no coercion and no administrative pressure in this subtle sphere, that is extremely sensitive for every person. You can understand the concern and pain of the Lettish sector of the republic's population, of the indigenous population, for their culture and language. Everyone must treat this with complete understanding. This stems from Lenin's stance, including his views on relations between large and small nations.

I think that all measures should be taken to support national culture and national language. Most favored status must be created, but in such way so as to ensure that other peoples' linguistic and cultural interests are not infringed. There must be no excessive emotionality here. I think that all of us internationalists must find a correct solution to the practical problems in this sphere, including in the upcoming work to create the appropriate legislative acts on a union and republic scale.

About events in 1939-1940. I have not done any special work on this set of problems, even though I did take part in the discussion of the situation surrounding the 1939 treaty. I can confirm just one thing, comrades: The 1939 treaty was forced upon us and was necessary for us. It is a different matter that we perhaps failed to take advantage of the additional opportunities to consolidate our defense which were afforded us by the treaty, in that it temporarily postponed the armed conflict with Germany.

Another treaty was concluded in September 1939, the Friendship Treaty. Its conclusion was not called for by any such a strategic and historical necessity. It was an unjustified and wrong step, which had serious ideological consequences.

As regards the so-called secret protocols, I can say that we have not found originals of these documents either in the Foreign Ministry archives or in any other archives, despite repeated attempts to discover them. But this is not the point. The point is that the 1939 treaty did take the Baltic states out of the German capitalism's sphere of influence and guaranteed the impossibility—at least within that treaty's framework—of armed or any other interference in these states' affairs. In other words, the role of these treaties consists of the fact that they did cut off any possible imperialist influence on the Baltic states. And the outcome of the subsequent development of events was that Soviet power was established in them. Historians have to tackle these questions, because this did involve violations of legality, of certain principles, and so on. This will be said by historians. It seems to me, however, that there are no grounds to raise doubts about the historical necessity for and justification of events in 1939 and 1940. There must be research, there must be an historical assessment: What was right and what was wrong? The study of all these questions must be conducted from positions of the cleansing of socialism. This concerns the country's history, our party's history.

I would like to say, comrades, that you bear tremendous responsibility not only for the training of cadres for the republic's national economy but also for the normalization and improvement of the sociopolitical situation in the republic. Bearing in mind that you are working with students, and that these young people are most responsive to painful questions, to appeals, and to emotions, I would call upon you to prevent anything that could lead to deterioration of interethnic relations. It is necessary to strive to rally the student youth around the ideas of restructuring, around the ideas of socialism's renewal. In this context it is especially important to free and protect student youth as much as possible from all sorts of extremism and extremist manifestations of a nationalist nature from both sides.

In conclusion, let me talk very briefly and succinctly about the situation which has developed around the draft amendments to the Constitution and the draft new electoral law. I want to firmly object to the opinion that they represent a deviation from the 19th party conference decisions, that they supposedly lead not in the direction of our society's democratization but in the direction of the intensification of centralism, infringement of the rights of local organs of power and of the republic, and so on.

I came across these selfsame misunderstandings also among students. I see that you have doubts. Comrades, there is not the slightest justification for this opinion, for this story. These two drafts do not claim to implement all of the conference's decisions. They do not touch upon questions of the distribution of power between the center and the republics. They do talk about powers. But they talk about the distribution of power between central organs because they are being created anew. There has been no Congress of People's Deputies—it is being created. In order to enable people to know what they are voting for, it is necessary to outline what the congress will be doing and what its powers will be. The Supreme Soviet will be a completely different organ from what it is today. Only the name is retained. It will be, in essence, a permanently functioning constitutional organ of state power, the supreme organ between sessions of the Congress of People's Deputies. It will function on a permanent basis, and its numerical strength will be changed. It is necessary to define its powers and to divide powers between the Congress of People's Deputies, the Supreme Soviet, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. There will not be a single new power, there will not be a single new prerogative. The only thing that is happening is a division between four organs of that which was divided between two organs in the past. The question of prerogatives of the Union and prerogatives of the republics has not been raised. All this is yet to come. The republics' constitutions will have to be elaborated.

I do not understand who needed to depict the draft law as something which it really is not, and for what reason, and why such passions should have been fanned around

it. Furthermore, the ultimatum-like resolutions and letters arriving in the Central Committee—to remove the draft from discussion because it runs contrary to the 19th party conference—are absolutely inconsistent. There was only one instance of, so to say, retreat from what was said at the conference: the election of judges. The conference said that judges should be elected by superior soviets, and then our pundits on legal and state affairs drew the conclusion that, if we were to give soviets real power and if they were to work under democratic monitoring by the people, the election of judges by a superior rather than the corresponding soviet would give the impression that this soviet was not trusted. It must be trusted in the new conditions.

This is why we decided to retreat from what was said at the conference and to introduce a more democratic norm: The judge is not appointed downwards from above, but the soviet itself elects the judge. This is the only retreat, as it were, from what was said at the conference. Incidentally, I believe that this retreat was also unjustified. The new system must work for a while to enable soviets to assert themselves as organs exercising full power under democratic monitoring by the people. Only then, if it becomes obvious that this is so, should the procedure for electing judges be changed. There are no other deviations, not even the slightest, from the conference decisions.

There is something else that is amazing: Unfortunately, the discussion failed to note the real, obvious, and tangible advance along the path of democratization which underlies these draft laws. What I mean is the right to include two or more candidates on ballot papers, the mandatory real, rather than symbolic participation of people in the voting process (previously they simply dropped in their ballot papers and that was all, but now they must make their choice), the expansion of deputies' rights, the changes of soviets' style and method of work, and the expansion of commissions' functions. As if none of this existed. Come on now. Is this an objective attitude toward affairs? One unwittingly assumes that this is just an emotional response by comrades. In any case, they have not read it all. What is even more worrying is the launching of a campaign to collect signatures. Radio announcements are addressed to enterprises: Comrades, anyone who has not signed the petition should go to room so-and-so. Come on now. What is this? This was openly discussed with specialists and jurists. But this is not just a juridical question. This is a sociopolitical question. This was the spirit in which the conversation was held, and I would simply ask you to bear this in mind in order to avoid succumbing to emotions here too. Read all this properly, perceive it in line with the work plan for the implementation of the conference [decisions], looking at these two drafts as the first stage whose purpose is to shape the supreme organs of state power. This must be the beginning. All the rest will be solved later.

Why begin with the Union Constitution and not with the republican? We have a single union state. This is

enshrined in the Constitution. It is necessary to jointly elaborate our Constitution, giving everyone an opportunity to express his opinion, and deciding on the basis of unanimity. Not a single question can be resolved until full unanimity on it is reached by all members of our Union.

I would like to thank the comrades for their suggestions and remarks. They are very important and instructive, and I can state plainly that I found this meeting very interesting. It was necessary to enable me to feel the pulse of your life. VUZ's have always been the focus, a sort of center point of the moods of public opinion in society. I think that VUZ's must continue to play this role, which is especially important in today's atmosphere of an upsurge of public opinion. I do not think that it is necessary to feel pessimistic, to draw any alarming subjective conclusions, as some comrades would like. We also discussed this in the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee.

We also have full confidence in the republic's leadership. We believe that all problems emerging here must be solved locally by democratic means. But it is only natural that Communists must play a more active role in this work, that they should be the initiators everywhere and in everything. That everyone should persistently work to implement these plans. Yan Yanovich Vagris says that the republic party organization must take a more distinct stance on all topical questions of the republic's development, that it must mobilize the party aktiv and all Communists for more confident advance along the path of our restructuring. I am certain that this is the only way for us.

The meetings with VUZ students and lecturers were attended by Comrades I.Ya. Kezbers, V.P. Sobolev, S.V. Zukul, and Ye.N. Trofimov, chief of a CPSU Central Committee department.

Upcoming Gorbachev Agenda, Foreign Visits

Noted

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1 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 1 TASS—By a TASS diplomatic correspondent:

The Soviet leader's planned trips to New York, Havana and London will be the political culmination of the outgoing year.

During the tour he will address the international community and discuss with the leaders of the United States, Cuba and Great Britain key problems of our times.

In the morning of December 7 Gorbachev will meet with U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, pay a brief visit to the president of the 43rd session of the General Assembly, Argentinian Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship Dante Caputo, and address the

plenary meeting of the U.N. General Assembly with a programme-setting speech concerning problems of today's world and the role of the international community in their solution.

The Soviet leader and the persons accompanying him are then expected to make a speedboat trip to Governor's Island in New York Bay in direct proximity to the Statue of Liberty. The island, owned by the American Government, has a facility of the U.S. Coast Guard subordinated to the Department of Transport.

According to information obtained in the diplomatic community in Moscow, the Soviet leader will meet on the island with U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Vice-President George Bush in the afternoon of December 7.

That will not be regarded as an official meeting at the highest level. At the same, the Soviet leader will meet for the first time simultaneously with two American top executives, the incumbent President and the president-elect. The meeting is expected to last about three hours and will be concerned with issues of bilateral relations, military security and disarmament, regional conflicts and human rights.

One can be bold enough to state that the principal task of the meeting is to confirm continuity in the continuing Soviet-American dialogue.

It is indicative that the Soviet-American meeting will be held on the eve of the anniversary of the signing of the INF Treaty. In this connection it is quite possible that attention will be given to that event.

Time has been set for Gorbachev's sight-seeing in New York city on December 8. It is known that many American political and public figures and businessmen expressed the desire to meet the Soviet leader. Time will show who will have the opportunity, but these meetings are expected to take place on December 8.

On December 9, the Soviet leader will leave for an official friendly visit to Havana on his first trip to Latin America.

After an extensive programme of talks with Cuban leader Fidel Castro, Gorbachev will address the Republic's National Assembly on December 11.

His speech is expected to dwell on principles of the Soviet Union's relations with the countries on that continent.

On December 12 Gorbachev will arrive in London for talks with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. An audience with the queen of the United Kingdom, Elizabeth II, is scheduled for the following morning.

The visit to London, to end on December 14, will complete Mikhail Gorbachev's series of meetings with the leaders of major European nations: Italy, Austria, the Federal Republic of Germany and France.

This is an important outcome of political life in the outgoing year as it will undoubtedly contribute to creating in Europe a climate of security, confidence and cooperation and building a "common European home."

Foreign Ministry Cited on End to Radio Jamming
LD0112132388 Moscow World Service in English
1100 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Spokesmen for a number of foreign radio stations say that the Soviet Union has decided to stop jamming their broadcasts. Our correspondent turned to the Soviet Foreign Ministry for comment. The representative said the Soviet Union favors a free exchange of information and would like to see no barriers in the way of circulation of truthful information. The former practices in that area were born in the cold war times when the USSR used to be subjected to a most hostile attitude.

Economic

Conference on Wholesale Trade Opens in Moscow
LD3011180288 Moscow TASS in English 1633 GMT
30 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—A workshop opened in the Soviet capital today to discuss problems of an economic mechanism for wholesale trade in capital goods in the USSR. The question is now regarded as a crucial element of the economic reform underway in the USSR.

Lev Voronin, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, has described the granting to enterprises of the right to sell part of their output independently, as a major avenue for the development of wholesale trade in capital goods. Speaking at the opening of the conference, he said that already about 45 per cent of machines and equipment were being purchased by enterprises under direct mutual agreements, bypassing the centralized procurement bodies. A system is being set in place to provide factories with information about the market situation, which includes a national data bank and the network of regional information centres.

Academician Abel Aganbegyan devoted his presentation to problems of creating a socialist market for capital goods. The deficits besetting the Soviet economy which cause deformations in the entire economic structure, were described by Aganbegyan as the main obstacle in the way of an expanded wholesale trade in machines and equipment. Wholesale trade was also hampered by some administrative acts, such as those regulating the size of the state-placed order which was over 90 per cent of an

enterprise's output. In view of this, Aganbegyan said, there are now plans to trim state orders in national economy down to an average 40 per cent next year.

Another possible way of speeding up the establishment of a socialist market of capital goods is, in the academician's opinion, granting the enterprises which turn out consumer goods, food products and those trading in the world market the right to independently sell their products. With rapid return on inputs, they will nudge the manufacturers of machines and equipment to engage in wholesale trade.

Abalkin Interviewed on Economic Reform
PM3011104188 Moscow TRUD in Russian
24 Nov 88 p 4

[Interview with Academician L.I. Abalkin by V. Golovachev in which Abalkin answers readers' questions under the rubric "Interviewed by the Reader": "The Economy: The Fate of the Reform Is Being Decided: Academician L.I. Abalkin, director of the Economics Institute and member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, answers TRUD Readers' Questions"—first paragraph constitutes introduction]

[Text] The new rubric "Interviewed by the Reader" has become a popular one. On 5 October TRUD reported that the next conversation would be devoted to topical problems of economics and that Academician L.I. Abalkin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute and member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium would be answering questions from readers. Hundreds of letters containing questions were received by the editorial office. In a newspaper interview it is of course impossible to answer them all. Those letters which discuss the most urgent and acute problems were selected for the conversation.

"What has the experience of the first steps in the economic reform shown? Are we on the right track?" A. Petrusev, an engineer from Kaluga.

[Abalkin] The replacement of administrative methods of management by economic ones is undoubtedly the right path. How consistent we are in following this road is a different matter. I shall return to that a little later. In the meantime, I shall deal with the positive changes.

Certain improvements have been achieved in the years since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum—primarily in changing the economic priorities, the greater orientation of the economy toward social targets, and also the increasing of labor productivity. Here is a specific example. In the previous three 5-year plans housing construction volumes in our country were "frozen" and remained unchanged. Yet the population grew and the urgency of the housing problem not only did not diminish, but on the contrary, it increased. In the first 2 years of restructuring we halted that negative

trend. Whereas in the seventies and the first half of the eighties approximately 2 million apartments were built each year, in 1987 that figure was 2.3 million.

Here is another example. From the social viewpoint it is very important that after a lengthy period of decline in the average life expectancy, reaching a critical nadir in 1984 (67.7 years), in the 3 years of restructuring it has proved possible to considerably raise that level—to 69.8 years. This is highly significant because the average life expectancy has to be multiplied by the size of the population, which numbers many millions. Therefore, an extra 2 years is a major breakthrough.

Furthermore, when speaking about the positive changes I should like to draw attention to another very important trend. We have entered a new stage of development when for the first time in our state's entire history the growth in national income (last year's figure and the preliminary results for this year) and the growth in output of the material production sectors (industry, agriculture, construction, and transport) has been achieved **entirely by an increase in labor productivity**. The number of workers in the material production sector has not increased but, on the contrary, has fallen. And with fewer people we are increasing the production of material output. This achievement not in any one sector but on the scale of the entire national economy means a really **substantial breakthrough**.

At the same time there is a movement of workers in progress into the **services sector**, which has lagged very much behind in our country. In the next 10-12 years approximately **15-16 million people** must be transferred into this sector (meaning the sociocultural sphere in the broad sense, including education, medicine, municipal services, and the population's services) by reducing the number of people in material production. Until quite recently those figures would have seemed quite fantastic... But a start has now been made. Although, it must be admitted, we still cannot be satisfied with the rate of increased labor productivity... [Abalkin answer ends]

"When you enter a store you see (and you don't have to be a specialist for this) that our economy is going through a difficult time. Why is the economic reform, on which so many hopes are pinned, still not working fully?" T. Peregudin, leader of a team of fitters from Voronezh.

[Abalkin] Indeed, on the whole the situation in the economy remains complex. As a recent USSR Council of Ministers session noted, as for the economy, people are saying that some negative trends are not only diminishing but are even intensifying. This is affecting the pace of development. Light industry and machine building are lagging behind the 5-year plan targets, and the population's food supply still has not been improved. In economic development we are continuing to take mainly an extensive path by increasing the consumption of resources. We are not pursuing structural restructuring with sufficient vigor...

Unlike in years gone by we are no longer afraid to speak the truth today and we do not embellish the facts. Here is a report from the USSR State Committee for Statistics (for the first 9 months of this year): "The steady development of social production has not been achieved. National income is growing more slowly than planned..."

It is right to ask therefore, why is the economic reform not working fully? Well, primarily because it is not being implemented consistently enough but only in a half-hearted manner, in a "truncated form," as it were. The new mechanism now occupies an insignificant place in the general system of economic management, in fact. I believe that it was within our power to achieve a different correlation between the old and the new economic mechanisms. Often nowadays we try to "squeeze" the new conditions of economic management and the new principles into the Procrustean bed of administrative methods and the framework of a plan drawn up according to the old canons. [Abalkin answer ends]

[Golovachev] At this point it is appropriate to quote a letter from Sverdlovsk. "How is it that the enterprise has been given independence and the collective can set its own plan yet at the same time the ministry demands: Give us the production volumes set in the plan approved for the sector, and be quick about it. I do not understand: Either it is one thing or the other. How can you combine the uncombinable—self-management and administrative diktat?" G. Krykin, a lathe operator.

[Abalkin] It is impossible to find sensible justifications for that. No matter how indignant we all become now we cannot change the situation. It must be accepted, unfortunately, as an objective fact, a sacrifice, the price, in my view, of the inconsistency and a certain halfheartedness of the reform. Of course we are taking an unknown path in restructuring the economy, and mistakes are possible, but they must be studied and the conclusions drawn...

In this regard I want to dwell on an extremely important problem—the elaboration of the concept of the 13th 5-Year Plan. We are going to have to make an incredible leap forward in economic restructuring. Twelve 5-year plans have passed (if you consider that the present one is near its end), a total of 60 years. Throughout those years we worked in principle according to a single model of the state plan. Some things were modified, clarified, or adjusted, but the essence remained the same. But now, in the 13th 5-Year Plan, it is necessary to develop a **fundamentally new** and historically unprecedented model of the 5-year plan.

Let us take the following example. According to tradition, this plan may be broken down into two parts: by ministries and by republics. But if we do that now the implementation of the reform will be delayed at best for another 5 years.

I have just returned from Vilnius, where I discussed with scientists and specialists the problem of Lithuania's transition to republic economic accountability. This is a completely different model. Regional economic accountability is impossible under rigid centralized planning. Meanwhile, many people believe that in the new 5-year plan, too, all 15 republics should be given "concrete targets" from above...

Now let us look at the sectorial part. As before, it is proposed to allocate targets to all ministries for 5 years, thus ensuring their existence in their present form until the mid-nineties. How else can it be, they say? After all, who is to be responsible for the plan?

Meanwhile, a completely different structure of managerial organs is now being formed. Take, for instance, the interesting venture in Leningrad. There they have created associations of a fundamentally new type—two concerns: a machine building concern and a chemical concern. Enterprises have joined the concerns quite voluntarily, and voting was held at meetings of the labor collectives. Those concerns are not subordinate either to a ministry or the Gosplan... The very concept of dependence or subordination is precluded here. Many people still cannot believe it: Who is in charge? The concerns are subordinate to a council of directors or, in broader terms, to the supreme power of the law. And that is all. We even find it hard to imagine how this can be. But, in point of fact, why should they be under anyone's jurisdiction? The concerns are working **directly for the consumer**—no more, no less.

But, you ask, what about the plan? A completely new model of the plan is being formed now. That is why the new 5-year plan should be completely different, too. What kind of plan is it in the new conditions? At the state level it sets the goals, or, if you will, the targeted guidelines, the priority, the major national economic programs, and also the amount of centralized capital investments... Incidentally, it will be impossible to set a general volume of capital investments across the USSR as a whole because considerable resources will be invested in the enterprises themselves.

In addition to setting the targets and formulating the system of priorities, the plan must also include **economic regulators**. For example, we consider a sector to be a priority. Thus we must create for it the corresponding preferential economic conditions—that is, we must set reduced budget contributions and create a most favored status regime through the system of prices, taxes, and financial payments... This is how the principles of the new 5-year plan should be.

The question, in my view, is this: Either we will find in ourselves the boldness and determination to elaborate a 5-year plan on a fundamentally new basis—without detailed targets broken down according to ministries and regions—or we will take the traditional path using the old forms and methods and restricting ourselves to

innovations which are not revolutionary in character. Then the reform will misfire. Now is the decisive moment of choice of that path, because there isn't much time left before the new 5-year plan begins. There is still time to switch to the new form of planning and economic management today, but tomorrow will be too late. Even if we want to elaborate a fundamentally new 5-year plan tomorrow we won't have enough time left. That is why in the present crucial period many scientists and specialists are alarmed and seriously concerned. [Abalkin answer ends]

"Will ministries be necessary in the new conditions—with the creation of concerns, the development of independent enterprises, and self-management?" P. Vasil'yev, an economist, from Lvov.

[Abalkin] A complex and multifaceted question. It is connected with what economists call the level of socialization of production. Take, for example, rail transport or the electric power industry. By virtue of their scale and technical details these sectors need unified coordinated centralized management—whether the relevant organ is called a ministry or, for instance, the main control center or something else...

It is different with light industry, for example. Here, I think, there is no need for a ministry. If a need arises to study market conditions or to implement a general technical policy, tens or hundreds of enterprises can combine on voluntary principles to create an organization. But unlike the ministry this will not be superior to the enterprises but rather attached to them and under their control.

Thus, for many mass production sectors there is generally no need for any subordination or for ministries as they are conceived today. I think this is also true of machine building, chemicals, metallurgy, agriculture, and the automobile industry... What do the Kama and Likhachev truck plants need a ministry for when they already have their own scientific research institutes and design bureaus? However, I should like to warn that there are no absolutes here, that one should not rush from one extreme to another. In some places ministries are needed, in others not; in some places it is possible to merge them, in others to reform them into an association or an organization attached to enterprises... In each case there must be a thorough analysis. But all this, of course, is just my personal opinion, my view of the problem. [Abalkin answer ends]

"The economic reform has led to the continued aggravation of the discrepancy between the money supply and the supply of goods in stores. If this process continues, what need is there for such a reform, and where will we end up?" A. Krylov, a financial worker from Leningrad.

[Abalkin] Indeed, such a discrepancy exists. However, not just the reform should be blamed here (it undoubtedly needs improved economic regulators) but also omissions in its implementation. After all, the point of the reform ultimately is to ensure that pay strictly matches labor input. However, we can see today that the growth rate of labor remuneration is increasingly outstripping the productivity growth rate. This gap is very considerable.

It must be said that the implementation of the wage reform has had a definite effect here—first the collectives accumulated money, then new wage rates and salaries were introduced... But I think that there is more to it than that. The occurrence of such distortions was largely due to the imperfect state of the economic norms, defects in the mechanism of economic accountability, and its incompatibility with the rigid administrative-address system of planning.

Furthermore, despite the critical attitude toward these distortions and the condemnation of past mistakes, we are building into next year's plan a serious lack of correspondence between the supply of money and goods. Here is an example: The population's money incomes for 1989 are planned to grow at a rate of 6 percent. But this is more than 1 and 1/2 times higher than the growth of national income. Therefore, we ourselves are introducing serious disproportions into the plan. Even the most perfect economic mechanism is incapable of rectifying them if they are preprogrammed into it.

Sometimes enterprises are to blame for all these distortions—they permit surplus payments, do not exercise due control, and so forth. The responsibility seems to be passed down the line. Of course there are violations at enterprises, too. But even that is not the most important point. The responsibility for the preferential growth of money incomes and for the economic imbalance rests primarily on the upper echelons of plan management—the USSR Gosplan and the USSR Ministry of Finance.

Here is one example. We cannot bring ourselves to restrain the growth in state budget expenditure. This is how we draw up the plan: First we set spending levels then try to find the income to go with them. Hence the state budget deficit. It now amounts to R36 billion, or almost 6 percent of the country's national income. That is a lot of money...

[Golovachev] Surely it is not all that much if you compare it with the money in savings accounts—R280 billion. Could the state budget deficit not be covered by borrowing from the bank, for instance, at a certain interest rate?

[Abalkin] That might be so if the money supply matched the supply of goods. However, specialists estimate that today there are R70 billion-R80 billion not backed up with goods. That represents 12-13 percent of the national income. That is undoubtedly a lot. When the economy

does not have the appropriate balance and when the money supply not backed up by goods increases, what happens is that the national economy simply becomes "swollen" with paper money. That aggravates the situation considerably... [Abalkin answer ends]

"I am not an academic, I am an ordinary worker. It seems to me that there is no need to give special thought or consideration to the various models of economic accountability—there isn't very much point in that at the moment, it seems to me. Just lease the enterprises—and things will work out by themselves..." D. Nikiforov, a fitter from Shchelkovo in Moscow Oblast.

[Abalkin] Nowadays people often make comparisons to see which model of economic accountability is the more effective: the first, second, or third (lease) model. It is the age-old desire to find a single remedy, a panacea, some kind of magic wand. That is a waste of time. Life is varied and multidimensional, and it is impossible to find a single universal remedy applicable to all situations. It is necessary to give freedom to the collective to choose a particular form of economic accountability. In light of the specific production conditions the first model will be more effective in some places, the second in others, and the lease elsewhere.

Now for Comrade Nikiforov's point that "there isn't very much point in economic accountability at the moment." There have been improvements here, of course, and we have already spoken about them. But I want to talk about something else. In the strict sense we do not have a single enterprise here at the moment which is actually working under full economic accountability, even though it is estimated that over 60 percent of output is produced by economically accountable enterprises. Nevertheless, this is not full economic accountability; it is still not real economic accountability. The part can never be more developed than the whole. Economic accountability cannot be full until the restructuring of the entire economic mechanism as a whole is complete. We are not yet changing planning, not introducing wholesale trade in the means of production, not transferring banks to economic accountability, and still not giving scope to dynamic and flexible prices which take account of supply and demand. Until that time, economic accountability cannot be full accountability.

Thus, the essence of the problem is the "topping out" ["dostravaniye"] of the system, and the establishment of its integration, which we must have more or less completed by the beginning of the 13th 5-Year Plan. [Abalkin answer ends]

"Much is being said in the press about the upcoming reform of price formation. How much more can prices be increased, given that they are now rising at an average of 2-4 percent a year (these figures were given in TRUD)? Tell us, Leonid Ivanovich, what do you personally think about this question?" P. Godunova, a nurse from Bryansk.

[Abalkin] I would put it like this: The price problem, as an independent problem, does not exist. The attempts that are being made to view prices as a relatively independent issue unconnected to the general national economic situation are a mistake.

If, for example, there exists a system of the rigidly funded centralized distribution of resources, the introduction of contract wholesale prices for those resources is impossible. One precludes the other. If part of the distribution is allocated to wholesale trade (10 percent, for example) then the same amount of contract prices could be introduced. Then, so that purchasers do not have surplus money, the bank must be transferred to economic accountability. (Otherwise the bank will issue so much credit that there will not be enough goods to match it).

Furthermore, in order to avoid the unrestrained inflation of contract prices, it is necessary to eliminate the monopoly in the production of output and to create real economic competition. Thus I have already named at least three conditions for the introduction of flexible contract prices. Without those conditions there is no point in changing to the new prices.

This also applies to retail prices. A reform here would be justified, I think, under certain conditions. First, there must be adequate stability of the consumer market when the supply of goods and money are in balance. Second, there must be sufficiently large stocks of goods to prevent potential negative events. Third, there must be economic competition among state enterprises, between them and cooperatives, and so forth.

Here I want to ask: Do all these conditions objectively exist today? Not yet. Of course (and I stress once more) I am in no way claiming that my view is the ultimate authority. There are other approaches to this problem, too. But if readers ask a question, I give my viewpoint and back it up with arguments.

Of course, prices in our country are imperfect and sooner or later there must be a reform. But for there to be a reform it is necessary, I repeat, to have the corresponding conditions for it. [Abalkin answer ends]

"The following argument is used in defense of the price reform. Agricultural subsidies have passed the R70 billion mark. There is no more money in the budget for subsidies, and the budget itself is in deficit. What is to be done?" D. Gorskiy from Kustanay.

[Abalkin] There are quite a few ways to reduce a budget deficit—first and foremost, by combating waste and learning how to live according to one's means. Our mismanagement and wastefulness are legendary. It is necessary to sharply reduce spending on the construction of costly projects and to reduce the increase in "incomplete projects." I would like to dwell on one more aspect. The new approaches enable us to look in a different way

now, presumably, at the spending of the defense departments, too. In the past, you will remember, we automatically sought a military potential equal to other countries and became embroiled ever deeper in the arms race. This involved vast expenditures. Now we are talking about a different principle—the principle of sufficiency—that is, our defense must be sufficient to guarantee the country's security. This also enables us to release considerable resources. Incidentally, a proportion could be channeled into improving the material situation of military servicemen whose service is difficult but esteemed and needed by the country.

Finally, it is also necessary to consider how justified are the various social programs and whether it isn't necessary to stop paying out money which isn't earned... With the existing deficit in the consumer market, problems will not be resolved by increasing money payments... [Abalkin answer ends]

"Price questions are closely linked with the activity of cooperatives. It is annoying that many cooperatives in the public catering sector add nothing to our food supply but merely profit from the shortage. Is it not time to restrict their activity?" M. Korzhakov from Moscow.

[Abalkin] I am not a supporter of administrative bans in the economy. In my opinion, however, it is not wrong to ban the activity of those cooperatives which, for example, want to trade in toxic substances or pornographic pictures or movies... People often ask: What about shashlik cooperatives? Speculation is rife there... First, there is a system of control, including worker and trade union control. And second, I would like to point out that in the past 70 years neither our state trade nor public catering have managed to resolve the shashlik question. Now we have shashliks. And this is very good. Let the state cafeterias try to compete with the cooperatives. But in our country, unfortunately, people often see only one path—prohibition... If we have adopted the course of cooperation seriously and for the long term, then it is necessary to develop an efficient economic mechanism rather than to strangle innovation at its birth. [Abalkin answer ends]

"What is the concept of the economic model of socialism?" V. Novak, Donetsk.

[Abalkin] This is a big question. Our institute has prepared for discussion an extensive report on this theme, and therefore it is very difficult to give a short answer. I shall talk only about a few approaches to it. In this work we raised the question of the criteria of socialism [sotsialistichnost]. What is socialist and what isn't?

There seem to be two areas here. The first is connected with the general economic criteria of progress. If socialism is a higher stage of social development, then it must

be superior to the previous social formation and achieve a higher level of efficiency, quality, productivity, and a faster pace of scientific and technical progress. Only then does it serve its purpose.

The second group is the social criteria which characterize the internal nature of the system and which are connected first of all with man's status as the master and owner. And if the system does not provide man, the labor collective, and the class with the status of master, that system of management, that system of property relations cannot be regarded as socialist.

This group of criteria includes, of course, questions of social protection and the minimum level of social guarantees which a society claiming to be socialist should provide for every person. I stress: the minimum, the lower limit of social provision and satisfaction which a socialist society should guarantee to everyone.

In general, socialism should enable the working people to control the means of production, exercise political power, and have access to social creativity. [Abalkin answer ends]

[Golovachev] S. Popov from Kemerovo asks: Is state ownership the same as ownership by all the people?

[Abalkin] Our work gives this answer: These two forms of ownership are not identical. By its socioeconomic nature state ownership cannot be ownership by all the people—for example, if a worker is alienated from ownership and does not have the right to dispose of property. In addition, various forms of ownership, including municipal ownership, may develop within the framework of ownership by all the people. [Abalkin answer ends]

"Leonid Ivanovich, you went to Sweden, you talked about it on television. In your view, is that capitalism in its pure form there?" V. Arshinov, an engineer from Kaliningrad.

[Abalkin] Another complex question. Further research and analytical work is needed here. For example, in Sweden a person's social protection in a whole series of areas is very high. Incidentally, more than 90 percent of Swedish farms do not use hired labor: The system of economic levers is specially designed to make it disadvantageous to use hired labor on farms. I would add that in Sweden there is virtually no unemployment. The Social Democrats are convinced that this is unacceptable because it has an adverse social effect on people... At the same time this country is really drawn into the orbit of the world capitalist economy and transnational corporations, and it is equally impossible to see its economy separate from that.

That is the picture. It must be borne in mind that capitalism and socialism are global differences of a world historic character which clearly cannot be applied to

local or particular situations. In principle, various transitional forms are possible in the process of development. For instance, why can there be a mixed form of ownership (with foreign capital) and yet not a mixed model of society? A question for debate, of course, which requires detailed research... [Abalkin answer ends]

"I fear that our past mistakes, which must be corrected, may have undermined our faith in the ideals of socialism. What do you think?" T. Porokhov, a pensioner from Irkutsk.

[Abalkin] The mistakes, of course, caused considerable harm. But it would be wrong to identify them with the nature of socialism. I am profoundly convinced of socialism's powerful potential. In principle, socialism has the capacity to achieve the greatest efficiency combined with the humanism of social life. For this it is necessary to bring into operation more powerful incentives for man's social and labor activity and social transformations than capitalism can produce. There is one path here—the formation of a truly proprietorial attitude to work and to property. This is a task for the present and the future.

Agricultural

Gosplan Chief Maslyukov Tours Krasnodar Kray
PM2911134588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Nov 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "In the Kuban"]

[Text] Krasnodar, 25 Nov.—Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Gosplan, has been on a visit here.

During his tour of the Kuban, he visited a number of farms and agricultural enterprises in Ust-Labinskiy Rayon, where he showed interest in the course of wintering livestock on farms and in feed production. During his visit he was acquainted with new methods of organizing the procurement of agricultural produce and its processing and sale in state and cooperative stores. He also showed interest in the living and working conditions of agricultural workers. In Tbilisskiy Rayon he visited sugar and seed plants.

Yu.D. Maslyukov was accompanied on his tour of Krasnodar Kray by I.K. Polozkov, first secretary of the party kraykom, and N.I. Kondratenko, chairman of the krayispolkom.

Invigoration of Ukraine Kolkhoz Markets Viewed
AU2511132788 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA
in Ukrainian 19 Nov 88 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Excerpts] As reported, the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium examined at its session the activity of the Ukrainian Union of Consumers Societies, the Ukrainian SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, and the local soviets of people's deputies in perfecting the work of kolkhoz markets as an important factor in improving food supplies for the population. The adopted decision notes that the Ukrainian Union of Consumers Societies, the Ukrainian SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, and the soviets of people's deputies are very slow in restructuring their work to improve the organization of trade on kolkhoz markets as an important factor in meeting the population's needs for agricultural produce.

The Ukrainian Union of Consumers Societies and the republic's State Agro-Industrial Committee do not take effective steps to ensure that kolkhozes and sovkhoses fill state orders and more fully meet the population's needs for agricultural produce through kolkhoz markets; they have left the development of market trade without guidance. While handling these issues, they do not include criticism in their assessment of the real situation that has emerged in this sector, and they attend to narrow departmental interests. Only 50 percent of the farms working on the plan for the marketable production of potatoes and vegetables have been assigned markets, and in 10 oblasts, including Vinnitsa, Volyn, Ivano-Frankovsk, and Kiev Oblasts, this share only amounts to 25 percent. Since the beginning of the current 5-year period, the increase in the amount of produce sold by kolkhozes and sovkhoses has not exceeded 1 percent. In the 9 months of the current year, these amounts even declined compared with the corresponding period in 1987. The share of potatoes, vegetables, and fruit sold by farms on kolkhoz markets in the current year has only amounted to 2-6 percent of the total. [passage omitted]

In the current year, organizations of consumer cooperatives in the republic as a whole have significantly reduced the population's procurement of potatoes and fresh and dried fruit; purchases of meat products have dropped in 50 percent of the oblasts, and those of milk and dairy products in 10 oblasts. Cooperative societies sell almost no vegetables and fruit on the market. All this has resulted in shrinking volumes of many kinds of agricultural produce sold and in rising prices. [passage omitted]

The has found that the board of the Ukrainian Union of Consumers Societies and Comrade S.V. Litvinenko, its chairman; the Ukrainian SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee and Comrades A.N. Tkachenko, committee first deputy chairman, and V.A. Lisitsyn, committee

deputy chairman; executive committee leaders, primarily those in Vinnitsa, Voroshilovgrad, Dnepropetrovsk, Donetsk, Zaporozhye, Kiev, Kirovograd, Lvov, Nikolaev, Odessa, Rovno, Kharkov, Kherson, Cherkassy, Chernovtsy, and Chernigov Oblispolkoms, and in Kiev Gorispolkom, worked in a very unsatisfactory manner to organize trade on kolkhoz markets. The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium thus demanded that they take concrete steps to eliminate the serious shortcomings in this sphere. [passage omitted]

Scientific

'Mir' Experiments To Study Physical Adaptation *LD0212034588 Moscow TASS in English 2021 GMT 1 Dec 88*

[Text] Moscow December 1 TASS—The international Soviet-French crew of Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov, Valeriy Polyakov, Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Jean-Loup Chretien today are carrying out medical and biological experiments. From November 28 after the docking of the Soyuz TM-7 spacecraft with the Soviet orbital complex Mir the cosmonauts have been working as a single crew.

The 'echographie' experiment was conducted today to extensively study the state of human cardio-vascular system in space, to obtain maximum data on the processes of organism's adaptation to the conditions of zero-gravity. For this purpose a complex of modern apparatus 'echograph,' developed in France, was fixed on board the station. Apart from studying the speed and character of blood flow, the device makes it possible to study changes in the size of shin that occur in the conditions of zero-gravity, to measure arterial pressure. At the same time it registers ambient parameters—pressure, temperature and humidity.

Minilab is the second medical and biological experiment. It involves biochemical experiments and those carried out on the echograph. Minilab enables to obtain information on changes in the volume of circulating blood and plasma in the body, the state of blood flow at different stages of the space flight.

The data will be used in future to meet practical needs of space medicine. In particular, new means of preventing the unfavorable effect of zero-gravity on human organism can be created on their basis.

Prospects for Updating 'Mir' Station Viewed *LD0212030488 Moscow TASS In English 1210 GMT 1 Dec 88*

[Text] Moscow December 1 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov:

One of the research modules to be docked to the Mir orbital station has a docking unit for the Buran space orbiter, Viktor Blagov, deputy flight director at the mission control center near Moscow, told journalists.

The Mir orbital station, which has been in orbit since February 1986, has six docking ports, to one of which the research module Kvant was attached in April 1987. Aleksandr Volkov and Sergey Krikalev, who will replace Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov following the completion of the programme of the Soviet-French flight on December 21, will work in the station together with physician Valeriy Polyakov till the end of April, 1989.

One more module with an air lock to contain all the necessary equipment for a space-walking venture, including an installation for a cosmonaut's autonomous movement outside the station, will be linked up to the station at the concluding stage of their flight to Mir. At first, it will approach the axial docking port of the adapter module and then will re-attach itself to the upper unit with the aid of the manipulator. This module can be the same in size as the body of the station.

According to Blagov, one more module to host the Buran in future will be linked to the lower port in half a year. In all, the Mir complex will accommodate five research modules. Its overall mass will exceed 130 tons. This formation of the orbital complex will allow scientists to peer deeper into several areas of research due to updating the equipment, and also to ensure flexibility in conducting it thanks to the possibility to change modules.

The Buran re-usable space orbiter, which made the fully automated flight on November 15, is designed for 100 space voyages. According to Aleksandr Dunayev, head of the USSR Space Administration (Glavkosmos), several such space vehicles are under construction in the USSR. They will be used primarily for repair work in orbit and retrieving to earth the worn-out components of space equipment. It is envisaged, in part, to return to earth individual blocks of the Salyut-7 station, which was transferred to high orbit in 1986. The Buran can carry 30 tons of cargo into space and return to earth - 20 tons. It is planned to make not more than two to four flights a year.

World 'Experts' To Inspect Gorkiy Atomic Plant *PM2911151388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 6*

[Report by F. Ivanov under the "Details for IZVESTIYA" rubric: "International Inspection for Soviet Atomic Power Station"]

[Text] Next year an international group of experts will assess the safety of the atomic heat plant under construction in Gorkiy.

Agreement on the subject was reached at a conference of USSR and IAEA specialists held in Moscow at the I.V. Kurchatov Nuclear Energy Institute.

Your IZVESTIYA correspondent asked the participants in the conference to give their opinions of the aims of the inspection and on the prospects opened up by the agreement that has been reached.

V. Asmolov, chief of the institute's atomic energy safety department, said:

"The need to construct an atomic heat plant in Gorkiy was dictated by life itself: The existing TETS no longer meets the requirements of the city's industrial enterprises, and the construction of new heat and electric power stations using petroleum will lead to an acute deterioration in the already complex ecological situation. In the process of developing the plan for the station, paramount importance was attached to questions of security. After all, the atomic heat plant is being constructed several kilometers from the city. But it is no secret that since the Chernobyl accident many people have begun to treat the use of atomic energy with suspicion and even entirely negatively. It is possible to understand such feelings. That is why we have decided to support the proposal from the Gorkiy public to carry out an international inspection which will assess the safety of the atomic heat plant. This comprehensive check includes studies of the concept for ensuring the station's heightened safety and the plan for the reactor unit, the quality of construction and the training of personnel, and the anticipated radiation situation. Specialists will receive all the necessary documentation and will then set off for Gorkiy to directly examine the station itself. Incidentally, in my opinion this is the first time that such a delegation will visit this city, which until now has been 'closed' to foreigners.

"I want to note that such a large inspection costs a very great deal—hundreds of thousands of dollars—but it is now clear to all of us that you cannot economize in these matters. If the experts give a positive assessment of the safety of the Gorkiy atomic heat plant, the plant will produce industrial fuel as early as the end of this 5-year plan."

Ye. Yaremi [name as transliterated], leader of the agency's nuclear installation safety section, who is heading the IAEA delegation, stated:

"We welcome your country's decision to carry out an assessment of the safety of the Gorkiy atomic heat plant. The IAEA has experience in carrying out inspections, but until now these inspections have mainly affected only existing stations. This large-scale comprehensive study of all aspects of safety carried out at the construction stage will be the first in history and will, I hope, be supported by other countries. The IAEA has recently

been receiving increasingly frequent suggestions for carrying out inspections at existing atomic power stations, including in developed countries. In particular, an examination of this kind will be carried out in 2 weeks' time at your AES in Rovno.

"As for the station in Gorkiy, we have only just received the necessary documentation and we will now start to assemble independent specialists who will carry out the inspection. Of course, it is still too early to draw any conclusions, but I know that the plan for the reactor contains several fundamentally new solutions which make it possible to view the safety of the Gorkiy atomic heat plant optimistically. I repeat, however, that the group of experts will make the final decision. They will come to the USSR in the summer of next year and I hope that they will give their conclusion by early fall. Of course, this conclusion will be submitted only to the client, that is, to the Soviet side, but we hope that you will make it public: After all, the study of experience is useful to all countries seeking to achieve complete safety for the use of atomic energy."

USSR To Exchange Seismological Data With West
LD0212045888 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1700 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Excerpt] Moscow, 1 Dec (TASS)—An international system of exchanging seismological information will help make monitoring of nuclear weapons tests more effective, say specialists of the Institute of Earth Physics of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Today, along with seismologists from the United States, Australia, and Sweden, the Soviet scientists have begun an international experiment to examine the functioning of the elements of the system.

"An International Data Center (IDC), located in Obninsk, has been set up under the Institute of Earth Physics. It has contact with similar seismological centers in Washington (U.S.), Stockholm (Sweden) and Canberra (Australia) via the Swedish center," said Vladimir Ratushnyi, technical leader of the international experiment, to a TASS correspondent. "One of the tasks of the work today is checking the work regime of the computers that will process the incoming information, agreeing on the schedule of work of the IDC's in the USSR, the United States, Sweden, and Australia, and agreeing on methods for decoding the various parameters of the seismic signals."

Vladimir Ratushnyi stated that three stations are participating in the experiment for the Soviet side: Aktyubinsk (Kazakhstan), Arti (Urals), and Obninsk. "We plan to establish direct contact via satellite with all international data centers in early 1989," he said. "In addition, information from the national seismological centers in Turkey, the CSSR, and India will also come into the Obninsk IDC to be processed." [passage omitted]

International Cooperation on AIDS Urged
*LD3011121188 Moscow TASS in English 1156 GMT
30 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—The pooling of the efforts of researchers from various countries and the advances made by national scientific schools in the struggle against AIDS is a necessary condition for success, said a prominent Soviet epidemiologist. Valentin Pokrovskiy, who is president of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, made this remark in a TASS interview on the eve of AIDS-Prevention Day, which will be observed throughout the world on December 1 on the initiative of the World Health Organization.

Pokrovskiy left for Geneva on Wednesday [30 November] for a meeting expected to discuss the problem. Mankind has excellent experience of mounting joint efforts to combat diseases. Smallpox was eradicated on the planet through international cooperation, he reminded. Cooperation in coping with the new dangerous epidemic received a boost when 139 countries agreed on joint efforts under the W.H.O. worldwide AIDS programme. Its main areas include support for national prevention projects, coordination of the efforts of medical scientists in a search for effective methods of prevention, diagnostics and treatment. The USSR was one of the first states to give financial support to this programme.

Some 40 research centres are studying the AIDS problem in the USSR. There is active support among Soviet medics for the development of cooperation in this field, Pokrovskiy said. Contacts have already been established with researchers in socialist countries. Soviet and U.S. scientists will work together from next year under an agreement between the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Medicine. The recent Soviet-Belgian scientific dialogue in Moscow also proved successful.

A conference in Moscow in March will become one of the major international scientific forums on AIDS next year, Pokrovskiy continued. Held in the Soviet Union under the auspices of the W.H.O., it is expected to attract nearly 100 prominent scientists from European countries.

Speaking about a strategy to combat AIDS, the academician noted that, in his opinion, a "defence" system should first be created to stem the spread of the disease, because one man every minute is infected with the virus of the killer disease, according to statistics. Only after this one can go on the counteroffensive.

Leningrad Woman's Death of AIDS Examined
*WA1800009488 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 25 Oct 88 p 4*

[Article by V. Zhiliyeva: "Discussion of a Difficult Subject: The Risk Group"]

[Text]

Just One Death

Twenty-nine-year-old Olga Gayevskaya (there is no need to conceal her name as it has already been published in LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA, which also printed a photo of her) has died of AIDS. A blood test done on her indicated the presence of the HIV viruses. True, the patient herself never knew this: The final diagnosis was reached after her death.

The news that our country has registered its first death from this, the most dangerous disease of this century, has shocked and upset many people. The meager information released concerning the case created more questions than answers. The details of the case are puzzling.

Why would a person who by virtue of her lifestyle fell into a high-risk group not have been tested for AIDS? Why was Olga Gayevskaya not on record with internal affairs organs in Leningrad, despite the fact that according to her neighbors she had been having intimate relations with foreigners for 9 years? Why did the doctors to whom she went on many occasions during the final 8 months of her life come up with all sorts of diagnoses of her condition except for the correct one? And, finally, are the steps being taken today to protect our society from the spread of this sinister disease and to combat prostitution effective enough? What steps should be taken to erect a barrier against AIDS?

A Medical Opinion

Yu. Fedorov, deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Health's Main Administration for Quarantine Diseases:

"In the period that we have been keeping records we have registered a total of 412 persons in our country who are carriers of the AIDS virus. Of these 390 are foreigners, mainly students. All of them have now left the country, as is required by law."

"A total of 22 Soviet citizens have tested positive for the virus thus far. The majority are between the ages of 21 and 45, the period of greatest sexual activity. Remember that the AIDS virus is transmitted either through blood transfusions, if the blood donor carries the infection, or from mother to child, or through sexual contact. Therefore, AIDS testing in this country is being done primarily on, and is mandatory for, blood donors, pregnant women, and individuals who belong to the high-risk group: drug addicts, homosexuals, and prostitutes."

"Experience shows that by and large blood donors are a healthy group: In the course of 9.35 million tests the human immune deficiency virus was discovered in only 7 individuals. Today we are only using blood that has been tested for AIDS when we do blood transfusions, meaning that that means of transmission has been virtually sealed off."

"Unfortunately, it is impossible to prevent the transmission of the disease from infected mothers to their children, but this means of transmission is also under control."

"The situation is much more alarming with regard to the high-risk group. Naturally we are testing those individuals who are on record with internal affairs organs. Unfortunately, we do not have information on all the individuals whose lifestyles put them in this category, for they act in secret and prefer not to reveal their contacts. Therefore, medical personnel alone are incapable of shutting off or controlling this means of transmission completely."

"At this time there is no drug or vaccine which can cure AIDS. But in principle everyone is capable of protecting him or herself from infection. To do so we recommend that people not have sexual relations with a certain category of individuals, avoid casual sexual contacts, use contraceptives, and if possible limit contact to one person, because otherwise the risk of AIDS infection increases geometrically. Incidentally, these recommendations are fully in agreement with generally accepted standards of moral behavior. AIDS presents virtually no threat to those who adhere to them. And those who preach 'free love' should remember that they can not only become infected with AIDS themselves but that they can also introduce it into their families."

"At the present time there are 380 laboratories in this country, not counting research institutes, where AIDS testing is done. A person may be tested anonymously. Anonymity can make monitoring more difficult if it is discovered that a person is carrying the virus, but we are doing this because we want as many people as possible who have cause for concern to undergo testing."

As agreed upon, we will not touch in our conversation with Yuriy Mikhaylovich on questions pertaining to the work of a USSR Ministry of Health commission sent to Leningrad to investigate the circumstances surrounding the death of Olga Gayevskaya; Yuriy Mikhaylovich headed that commission. But it is already known that AIDS victim Olga Gayevskaya belonged to a high-risk group due to her lifestyle and that she was infected long before the disease entered its acute stage.

If one compares the symptoms of the disease which Olga exhibited with the signs of AIDS listed in an official bulletin distributed by the USSR Ministry of Health—including unexplained weight loss (12 kilograms), pneumonia, etc.—would one have to be a doctor to suspect that she might have had AIDS? Gayevskaya herself even said jokingly to a neighbor after she began to lose a great deal of weight: "It looks like I've got AIDS." Why did it take doctors so long to recognize the disease?

The AIDS virus was discovered only after a second blood test on the patient; the first test had been wrong. But an inadmissibly large number of days passed between the

second test and the final diagnosis. The result was that as long as Gayevskaya lived she was not treated as an AIDS patient. She continued to receive injections for pneumonia with the same hypodermic needles used on other patients. Fortunately the AIDS virus is easily killed by the conscientious sterilization of instruments.

The question arises: Is there any guarantee that the results of the anonymous AIDS tests are accurate? Yes, there is, because each such test is carried out individually, whereas in the first test Gayevskaya's blood was mixed with blood samples from four other persons. This is only permitted when there exists an acute shortage of testing supplies, and only when testing the blood of donors who have actually already been tested. The negligence shown in this case was inexplicable, because the blood sample was taken from a person with acute symptoms of the disease.

In short, what we find is carelessness and incompetence on every hand. In this connection the Leningrad Procuracy has filed a case accusing the doctors involved of negligence.

The fact that doctors came up with various diagnoses for Gayevskaya's illness and yet did not even suspect AIDS leads us to another alarming thought: Is this in fact the first death as a result of AIDS in our country? Unfortunately, doctors will not deny the probability that there could also be AIDS victims among persons whose cause of death was recorded as "acute pneumonia," for instance. But even if Gayevskaya was the first on the list there is no telling how many more names will be added to it.

An MVD Official's Opinion

I. Batalin, chief of the USSR MVD Main Administration for Criminal Investigation:

"The listing of persons active in prostitution was begun in the middle of last year. On the basis of current data it appears that the number of persons entered on the list during the 1st 6 months of 1988 has increased by about 35 percent over 1987. In part this is on account of greater activity on the part of internal affairs organs. But unfortunately the rise in prostitution is also a reality. It is particularly alarming that the members of this risk group are getting younger. Roughly 80 percent of them are under the age of 30, and there are also minors among them."

"You have probably noticed that I avoid the word 'prostitute.' That is because internal affairs records list in that category only those individuals who have received administrative penalties for prostitution and those for whom it has been established that prostitution is their source of income."

"Olga Gayevskaya also received an administrative penalty (in March 1985), but it was for resisting arrest when arrested for public drunkenness. Because prior to that time she had also been arrested for violating the admission policy of the Hotel Moskva, she was put on record. One year later she was taken off record because no further violations had been registered under her name. Therefore, we had no legal grounds for classifying her as a prostitute and consequently reporting her to health authorities. As it turns out, she received her foreign clients at home, in secret. You will agree that it would be absurd to suspect every young woman who lives alone of being involved in prostitution simply because she has male visitors."

"Yes, it is possible to give someone an administrative penalty for engaging in prostitution on a first arrest. But in order to prevent mistakes, the first time this occurs, the suspect, particularly one picked up in a 'hot' section (near hotels, train stations and so forth), is only asked what she was doing there and her explanation is then taken down. The second time she is warned of her liability and given a reprimand. After this the precinct militiaman fills out an official statement about her lifestyle, income, and standard of living. And only after a third arrest are all documents sent to the ispolkom administrative commissions, which decide what the penalty will be."

"From that point on the individual in question belongs to the high-risk group and is obligated to be tested for AIDS at a dermatological-venereal clinic. If a prostitute is found to be sick she is warned of her legal liability if she infects other people and is made to sign a statement acknowledging this. At the present time health authorities have conducted AIDS testing on approximately two-thirds of the individuals included in the militia's high-risk group."

"I feel that in order to eradicate prostitution we need a whole series of measures based on serious analysis of this phenomenon by jurists, members of the medical profession, psychologists, and economists. We must think about the moral and physical health of our children. Both prostitution and AIDS appear where there is a lack of morality."

Many people will recall a time when young women were accused of licentiousness because they read Maupassant novels. Yet today some young people openly call prostitution a prestigious "profession." Where do these distortions come from? What causes them?

We asked a popular female author, someone who is well acquainted with the feminine soul, to share her thoughts on this matter, but this was the response we got: "About prostitutes? No way! I don't want anything to do with that topic." We approached a well-known actress with the same request; we got another refusal.

Is it not strange: Even people whose professions pertain to the spiritual realm are embarrassed to talk about morality anymore. In common usage the term "morality" has come to be almost a synonym for sanctimoniousness. So people deliberately assume a flippant or indifferent attitude toward manifestations of immorality, including prostitution. Why be surprised if young people imitate this, or at least that group of young people who are so drawn to the world of high-class prostitutes with a foreign clientele?

An Actress' Opinion

Here we have a rare case—the chance to talk with someone who last year got a chance to "live" in the world of those prostitutes who work the foreigners' hotels. True, just in a movie version of it. That person is the young actress who starred in the Soviet-Swedish film "Freken Tanka," based on V. Kunik's novella "Interdevochka" [Foreigners' Prostitute]. Work on the film is currently nearing completion at Mosfilm Studios under the direction of Petr Todorovskiy. We feel that Yelena Yakovleva's viewpoint is doubly interesting, because she is also representative of contemporary young people.

"During the filming we naturally thought and argued a lot about the world of the prostitutes who work in the foreigners' hotels, and about their lives. Believe me, the majority of them are ordinary girls. And various goals and circumstances make them set out on that dubious path."

"For many of them, like for the character I play, the reason is their dissatisfaction with the fact that one has to be so 'smart' to dress attractively, to constantly stand in line and barely scrape by from one monthly stipend to the next, or otherwise always be in debt. And then they see somebody who has all sorts of fine things and who has obviously gotten them without working for them. There are plenty of examples of luxurious living and immoral behavior on the part of those who until just recently were on display. And they were the very people who were demanding loudest of all that young people be morally pure and unselfish. Therefore prostitution was for the girls a form of protest against the demagoguery, lies, and injustice which they saw around them."

"Indifference by the people around you in your childhood years gives you the feeling that no one needs you. It also gives rise to a bitter kind of bravado in return: I don't need anybody, either, and I'll live the way I want to. Of course, in the end one's choice of a path depends upon one's level of morality, culture, spiritual strength, and sexual education. But is it right to blame just young people? In my opinion it is hopeless to try to keep someone from this fate by moralizing or scolding. It lies within the power of every individual and of people who genuinely love that individual to prevent this. But unfortunately there is also a serious shortage of love these days."

Understand us correctly, readers. It was not our intention in discussing prostitution here today to cover every point and to close the book on this subject. That would be impossible. We only wanted to show that the problem is not so simple and harmless to society as some people believe, that people have different opinions about it and offer different solutions. You probably have your own opinion. Share it with us. We must work together to find a solution to our common misfortune.

Military

Officer Discusses Armed Forces Reform Program
PM0911151688 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 45, 6 Nov 88 p 6

[Lieutenant-Colonel Aleksandr Savinkin article: "What Kind of Armed Forces Do We Need?"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The Civil War in Russia was just in its initial stage when Lenin already included the matter of the socialist transformation of the armed forces in the list of priorities. Can we say that the task has been completed once and for all? The armed forces, being inseparably linked with society, undergo or should undergo changes along with society according to the changes in the world. What direction might these changes take? Below is the viewpoint of a professional with a life-long experience in the Soviet Army.

The question posed in the title is not a rhetorical one. It has arisen by the demands of our time, in particular, by a critical attitude toward the existing form of the organization of our country's armed forces, by the tendencies of the armed forces development in the conditions of peaceful coexistence, and by the military-political realities of a nuclear and, later, a nuclear-free, world. In my opinion, new models of an army answering the demands of self-governing socialist society under renewal must be developed.

The strength of the armed forces lies in popular support. However, it's impossible to ignore the armed forces present drop in prestige among civilians and young men's dwindling interest in army service. "Illnesses" in society and within the armed forces have manifested themselves, but these are being removed in the process of perestroika. However, a certain dislocation of relations between Soviet society and its armed forces nevertheless remains. There are several reasons for this: armed forces' state-political estrangement from the people has been taking place at various periods of this country's development; the contradiction between the comparatively quicker and essential restructuring of society, in general, and its comparatively slower spread to the military sphere where changes are largely carried out through administrative actions; the controversial influence of the

events in Afghanistan on people's conscience; and the insufficiency of information about the processes going on in our defence policy and in the life of the armed forces, and so on.

Of course, there is a way out of this predicament. Complex changes dealing with the social and state system are needed, and they are underway. The need for a military reform has become urgent (it is my personal, and therefore arguable opinion). The restoring of the Leninist image of the socialist army, the developing of its truly nationwide popular, democratic and humanist character is hardly possible without taking such a resolute and serious step. I think that the absence of any immediate threat of aggression, plus the favourable situation in the country, are propitious for carrying out the reform in a relatively short time. This will ensure a gradual transition to a new model of the armed forces.

The military reform core, as I see it, is the transition to a professional-militia army, in other words, to a relatively small, perfectly technically equipped, professionally trained and mainly voluntarily staffed military organization supported by a broad network of local militia formations. Such a system, I believe, would allow us to reduce standing military components without any detriment to the country's security, and provide a better cohesion between the army and the people. As a result, a democratic military structure integrated into society would be created, providing an opportunity for solving a number of problems, including the security and inner stability for the country, as well as enforcement of law and order carried out by citizen-militiamen themselves. The professional-militia army will combine the ideal of a democratic military defence system with the real possibilities for reshaping the armed forces in keeping with the principles of sufficiency and the strategy of military defence. In the course of disarmament, the system can be transformed into a militia army highly geared to productive work. That army with short terms of reserve military service and a high patriotic spirit will have no regular military organization.

In connection with the above-mentioned proposal, I would like to draw the readers attention to the following. Military-theoretic works contain a specific view which also found reflection in the actual military-political practice: the standing modern army is part and parcel of the process of building the armed forces in socialist countries. The view is substantiated by corresponding citations from Lenin. However, this contradicts reality. Classics of Marxism-Leninism always stood for the idea of replacing the regular army with a nationwide arming of people (militia). It should be noted that this was meant to be implemented within the context of democratic and socialist changes. A regular and large army created of necessity during the Civil War was considered by Lenin and his comrades to be an interim type of armed forces. It was supposed to be replaced with a militia comprised of workers and peasants (and later by a nationwide militia).

At the height of the Civil War, the 8th and 9th Congresses of the RCP (B) developed the guidelines for building the militia. After the end of the Civil War, in 1924, the armed forces were reduced from five million men to 562 thousand. A military reform was carried out, supervised by Frunze, resulting in the creation of a professional-militia military organization optimally suiting the contemporary military-political situation. "The guideline for the development of the armed forces of the Union," wrote Frunze, "has clearly become the transition to the militia-territorial army with relatively well-trained cadres for the main arm (infantry) and the preservation of the regular character for other arms, especially technical ones."

The policy of building a professional-militia army was artificially interrupted in the 1930. Stalin's political regime needed a regular and docile army, under the conditions of "barrack socialism". Repressions against the people excluded the support of territorial-militia formations which in essence were composed of people. The results of that step were tragic during the Great Patriotic War. A five-million-strong peacetime regular army allowed nazi troops inside our country as far as Moscow, and suffered heavy losses in the first several months of the war. The army had to be recreated and trained in the course of the war; the partisan movement, the People Volunteers and a universal military education had to be organized from scratch. All that testifies to the fact that the consistent modernization of the professional-militia system could, if not prevent the Nazi aggression altogether, then at least repulse it sooner and with significantly fewer losses. The aggressor would have met the resistance of a mobile perfectly equipped regular army interacting with national militia units.

The revival, under the new conditions, of the professional-militia system (an abortive attempt which was made in the early 1960s, when it was planned to reduce the strength of the USSR armed forces to 2,423 million) would, in my opinion, enable us to overcome the extremes of military construction. On the one hand, it would enable us to avoid a continued developing of our peacetime army as a professional, regular and mass-scale army (because, under present conditions, it is too much of a burden for our society, involving a diversion of large masses of people from their productive work for long periods of time), which no longer meets the requirements of the new stage of our society's development. Besides, an army like this is considered by other countries to be a

potential military threat, irrespective of political intentions. On the other hand, it would end the widely-spread illusions about the alleged possibility of solving all problems by means of a small professional army: such an army would not be able to safeguard the country, given its vast territory. Nor, of course, during a nuclear war. Such an army would not, in my opinion, be able to become a democratic military organization or popular nationwide. Unfortunately, behind such projects can be discerned some people's disinclination to serve in the army and their attempt to stop our policy of nationwide military conscription.

A professional-militia system would fully correspond to the new military doctrine of the Warsaw Treaty countries, providing us with the means of flexible reaction to the dynamics of the disarmament process, as well as to any increase (or decrease) of the threat of aggression. Such a system would, as I see it, be capable of preventing war and containing aggression more effectively and safely than the nuclear deterrence. This has been attested to not only by history, but also by the experience of the modern armed forces buildup in the People's Republic of China, North Korea, Vietnam, Yugoslavia, and Cuba which, to a certain extent, are each developing their professional militia systems. As a number of capitalist and developing countries have territorial military formations as well, it is principally possible to implement practically Engels's idea about concluding an international agreement on the transition to militia systems becoming a war preventing factor in a nuclear-free world. Thus, it would disprove the main argument of the opponents of universal nuclear disarmament.

The transition to the new system in the course of the Soviet armed forces buildup would upgrade the **quality and orderliness of the armed service**, as well as **boost its appeal**. It would become possible to do away with the overcentralized and cumbersome administrative-command control system. It could be replaced with a flexible control structure based on scientific analysis, automation and elements of public control and self-management. The direct linkage between the armed forces and all strata of Soviet society would be strengthened.

That is my vision of an armed forces model suitable at this new stage of development of socialist society. This model would respond to military-political detente, ensure effective safety for the country and boost the prestige of the armed forces. An increase in the aforementioned tendency to reduce and restructure the armed forces internationally would represent a triumph for the new political thinking.